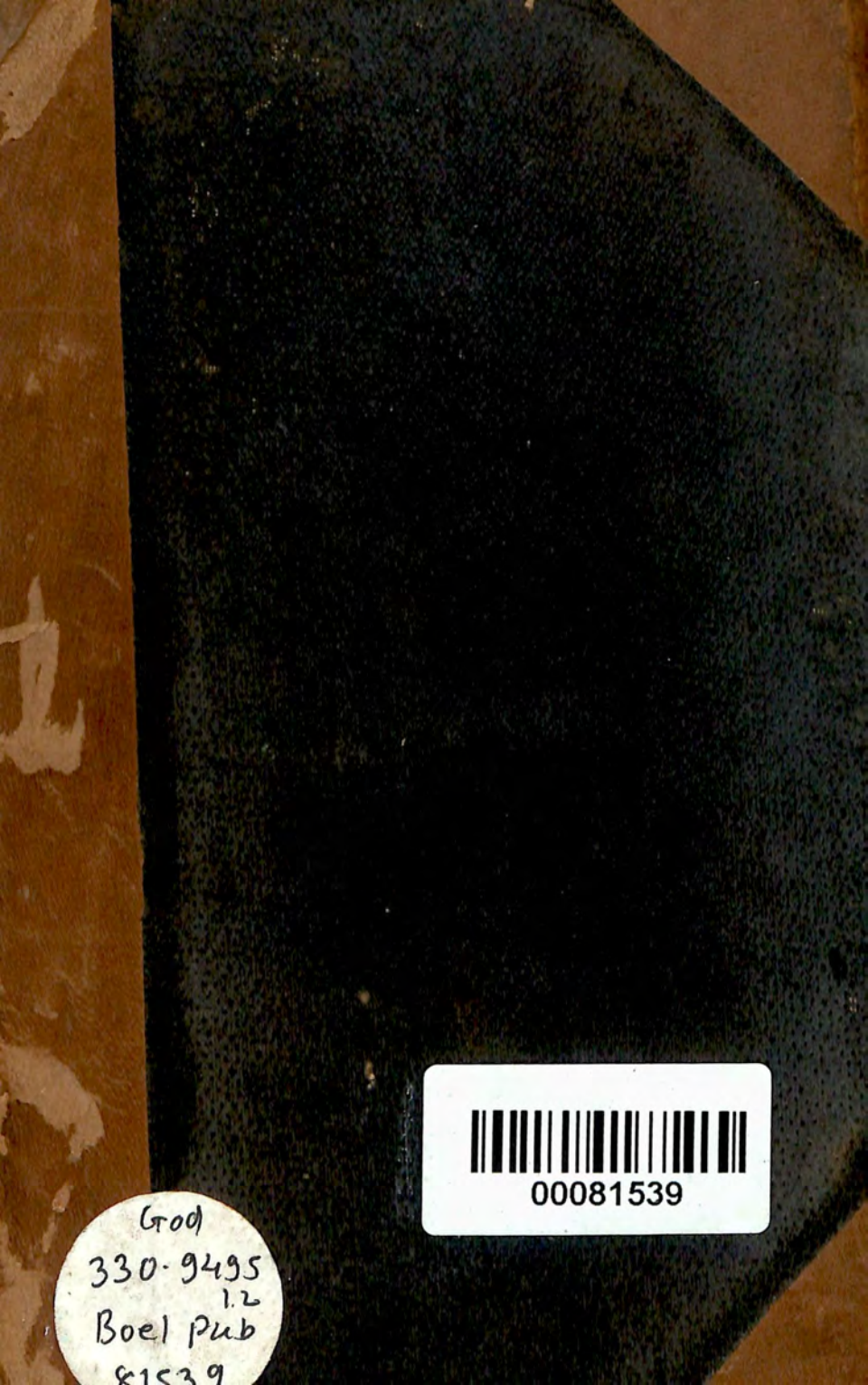

00081539
God
330.9495
1.2
Boel Pub
81539

BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

Royal Asiatic Society.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 09 March, 2016

THE

PUBLIC ECONOMY

OF

ATHENS,

IN FOUR BOOKS;

To which is added,

A DISSERTATION

ON THE

SILVER-MINES OF LAURION.

81539

TRANSLATED FROM THE

GERMAN OF AUGUSTUS BOECKH.

VOL. I.

LONDON,
JOHN MURRAY.
1828.

God
330.94951
Boe/pub
81539

BAXTER, PRINTER, OXFORD.

THE

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, of which a translation is now offered to the public, was published at Berlin in the year 1817. It is preceded by a dedication to Niebuhr, the author of the Roman History, and a short preface, in which Mr. Boeckh, after stating that the knowledge of the ancient history of Greece is still in its infancy, and lamenting that it has so often fallen into the hands of mere compilers or verbal grammarians, considers that it is impossible to gain a complete knowledge of the whole subject before some subordinate departments have been fully investigated. The following work he intends to be a contribution of this nature upon a subject of ancient history little understood. "If," he continues, "it should appear to many that the length of this work is incommensurate with the importance of its object,

the author is comforted by the consciousness of having aimed at brevity as much as clearness of style would permit, and he is afraid of having erred rather on the side of conciseness, thus frequently creating harsh and abrupt transitions, than on that of prolixity." After a few other remarks he proceeds to speak of some inscriptions, on which it is necessary for the translator to say a few words.

The latter half of the second volume of the original edition of his book is occupied by an Appendix, which contains twenty-nine Greek inscriptions, illustrating the subjects treated of in the body of the work. They are accompanied by a most ample commentary; and some of them were, upon the appearance of the original work (in 1817), published for the first time. In this translation these are omitted, and for the following reasons.

In the first place, the author has now undertaken to publish a complete collection of ancient Greek inscriptions, in which edition those which he had formerly published will all be necessarily included. Whatever therefore was most important in his former explanations he has repeated, with such

improvements or additions as the subsequent enquiries of himself or others may have suggested. Secondly, at the time when this work was published, the author was compelled to have recourse to incorrect transcripts made by Fourmont and others, of inscriptions which are now preserved in the British Museum, and have lately been copied with greater accuracy. These reasons have induced the translator to avoid increasing the bulk of this work with dissertations on subjects which, even by the professed classical reader, are frequently thought of secondary importance.

It now becomes necessary to say something of the translator's share in the labour. The style of a translation necessarily depends in a great degree both on the similarity or dissimilarity in the idioms of the two languages, and on the style of the original work. Now it is a singular, but an unquestionable fact, that the idioms of the German and English languages are altogether different, and seldom admit of literal rendering from one to the other[1]; a difficulty which in the present instance

[1] Madame de Stael (Allemagne tom. I. p. 194.) indeed says, "Les langues Teutoniques se traduisent facilement entre

has been much aggravated by the many peculiarities in the author's style, little suited to the taste of English readers. To this if we add, the frequent want of proper terms in English for peculiar institutions and usages among the Greeks[2]; an obstacle which the author could easily overcome in his own language by coining compound words, *faciliore ad duplicanda verba* Germano *sermone;* and also the

elles; il en est de même des langues Latines;" but no one who ever attempted to render German into English can doubt of the truth of what is asserted in the text. The structure of the sentences and collocation of the words are entirely different. The idiom of French is much nearer that of English, whatever may be said of the Latin and Teutonic languages.

[2] The original word has frequently been retained for the sake of avoiding ambiguity or periphrasis. Thus *Atimia, Dicasts, Hoplitæ, Cleruchiæ,* &c. It is true of most terms such as these just mentioned, what has been justly observed of words signifying public offices, that "although the relation denoted by them be the same in one or several important particulars, yet it scarcely ever holds throughout; and the most false notions are in consequence entertained by people of the nature of these corresponding offices in every country but their own." The term *Liturgy* has been used in a sense wholly different from its received acceptation; but the original word is the same; as λειτουργία, which originally signified a service *for the public* (as ἱερουργία in Herod. V 83. a sacred service), afterwards came to mean a service *in a church.*

unconnected appearance of a narrative compiled of various facts, and from various authorities; these grounds may perhaps justify the translator's hopes that some of those imperfections of style may be overlooked, which it was so difficult for him to avoid.

In the third book[3] the author, in speaking of the tenure of land in Attica, has occasion to quote a proposal or advertisement of a lease, from the original document engraved on stone and still extant. The inscription is given in the Appendix from a very incorrect transcript made by Chandler, several of whose errors are there rectified. It has since been published in a more correct form by our author in his collection of inscriptions; but as the copy which he has used is in many parts very defective, there still remained some difficulties which he could not overcome. As the inscription is preserved in the British Museum, the translator has made a more accurate copy of it, and taken the liberty of arranging the version in the text partly according to the latest improvements of the author

[3] Vol. II. p. 15. see p. 223.

himself, partly according to what appeared on the inspection of the stone to admit of no doubt.

In one or two instances the author has, in his later work, seen reason for modifying his first opinions: these corrections have been inserted in the notes at their proper places.

The author however had not (as far as the translator is aware) been called upon to retract or defend his opinions upon any point of importance, before the publication of his work on inscriptions. The first number of this collection was reviewed by Professor Hermann, in a manner which called forth a reply from Professor Boeckh. This reply was answered by Mr. Hermann; which answer was in its turn examined (together with the original review) by Mr. Meier, one of the authors of the *Attische Process*. All these several documents were republished by Mr. Hermann in one volume[4], with a preface and notes and two appendixes; of which the second is on the subject of the Logistæ and Euthuni, the nature of whose offices is one of the

[4] *Ueber Herrn Professor Böckhs Behandlung der Griechischen Inschriften von Gottfried Hermann.* Leipsig 1826.

points in contest between these two professors. This last Essay contains a criticism upon our author's discussion of the subject in the present work; and as it arrives at conclusions diametrically opposed to the account there given, the translator thought that the importance of these officers in the Athenian government might excite the curiosity of some English readers, and had actually prepared a translation of Mr. Hermann's treatise. But as the author has since replied at great length in a literary journal[5], and appears to have successfully defended his former positions[6], it has been thought preferable to abstain altogether from the controversy. The translator has entered at all into this explanation, only lest he should be thought to have neglected a subject so much connected with the present work.

The Dissertation upon the Silver-Mines of Laurion, of which a translation is given in the second volume, was published separately by Mr. Boeckh in the Memoirs of the Berlin Academy. It is frequently referred to in the notes to his chief work;

[5] The *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. I. p. 39—107.

[6] See however book II. note 179.

and, notwithstanding the abridgment given in the third book[7], may be considered as an interesting, if not necessary, addition to this work. He appears to have satisfactorily established his main point, that the mines were public property, and that the tenure[8] upon which they were held was a perpetual lease under certain conditions (including the payment of a rent of a twenty-fourth part of the gross produce), which was originally obtained by purchase. The price therefore of the shares or pits, which varied according to the state of the market, made up for the apparently small rent which was subsequently paid. By the oversight of this circumstance Mr. Mitford is led to accuse the Athenian State of neglect in the administration of its finances[9]. Of all charges, perhaps, the govern-

[7] Vol. II. p. 18.

[8] This may be a convenient place for mentioning that the term Fee-farm (*Erbpacht*), which occurs frequently in the present translation, is used only to mean a lease in perpetuity held upon certain conditions; without any farther notion or limitations which may be annexed to it in the language of modern lawyers.

[9] History of Greece, vol. V. p. 15. The account given in Walpole's Memoirs relating to European Turkey p. 444. is however quite correct.

ment of Athens is least open to that of a want of diligence in exacting the utmost amount of revenue which its legitimate resources could be made to afford.

It is often the unpleasant duty of a translator to give currency to some opinions in which he does not concur, or which he may more strongly disapprove; for it can rarely happen, however great may be our admiration of any work, that we can assent to *all* the doctrines which it contains. Unhappily the present book furnishes a forcible example of this mixture of objectionable with useful matter. It is much to be lamented that the author of this work, a man profoundly skilled in Grecian antiquities, and possessing very considerable powers of reasoning and discrimination, should not have added to these rich endowments a more ample portion of modern science: and that in his remarks and discussions he should exhibit few traces of those improvements in political philosophy which later ages have produced. With the exception indeed of some unimportant observations on a fanciful theory of Rousseau, and a few remarks suggested by striking peculiarities in the ancient institutions,

there is scarcely any thing which a well-educated Grecian of the time of Aristotle might not have written[10]; if we exclude those singular doctrines for the dissemination of which the world has since been chiefly indebted to the mercantile system of commerce. From the title of our author's work, it would be natural to infer that he was well versed in that science of which his subject forms a subordinate department. A very few pages are however sufficient to convince the reader that such is not the case. Thus, almost at the very outset of his work, we find him employing as convertible terms, *wealth*, *money*, and *the precious metals*[11], having previously

[10] Otfried Müller (*Orchomenos und die Minyer* p. 13.) in a review of the modern works on Grecian history gives the following character of the present book. "Was eine Atthis seyn würde, nach Art der alten Atthidenschriftsteller, die das Bedeutendste von dem, was wir politische und heilige Antiquitäten nennen, als wesentlichen Theil der Geschichte behandelten, und mit *neuerweiterter Ansicht* und Gelehrsamkeitsfülle ausgeführt, muss auch blöden Augen, an der Staatsöconomie Athens, neuerlich zum erstenmal klar geworden seyn." Concerning the *newly extended views* to be found in Mr. Boeckh's work, the English reader will form his own opinion: but as to the *profusion of learning* displayed in it, it is satisfactory to have the testimony of one of the most learned writers in (what is unquestionably) the most learned country of Europe.

[11] It is perhaps to the author's opinion that these three terms

mistaken the efficacy of money for that of which it is the medium. Occasionally also he appears to be led to false conclusions by using the words *profit* and *interest* as synonymous[12]; and in one place there is a serious argument to prove that the rent of land is regulated by the rate of interest[13]. The

are synonymous that we are indebted for his laborious enumeration of all the places of Greece in which the precious metals were found, and perhaps for his excellent Dissertation on the Attic Silver-mines, in the beginning of which he appears to attribute to them an importance and an influence on the prosperity of Attica, which they did not in fact possess. See also vol. I. p. 17. and vol. II. p. 192.

[12] See vol. I. p. 65, 82, 147, 154. See also his bitter invective against the Athenian bankers and money lenders, whom he calls "the most infamous of human beings" (p. 171); though in the preceding page he highly praises their honesty. He also retails, with seeming approbation, the vulgar declamation of Lysias against the corn dealers (p. 112). See also vol. I. p. 139. and, above all, his remarks on the enlightened proposal of Xenophon for a more liberal conduct towards the aliens of Attica, vol. II. p. 398, 399.

[13] Vol. I. p. 168. Sometimes the inconclusiveness of his reasoning depends upon an ambiguity of terms which disappears in translating. Thus a German word for rent of land is *Landzins*, literally *land-interest*; hence an incitement to a confusion of things really distinct in their nature. This word *Zins* is used in German to signify, *interest, profit, rent of land, rent of houses*, and *tribute*. The analogy between the interest

translator has thought it his duty to state thus plainly what must of necessity detract in some measure from the value of the present work: it should however, in justice to its author, be observed, that such imperfections may more easily be overlooked in a person who has made another branch of learning his peculiar study. And, while we see the application of the true principles of political economy to things under our own eyes and in our own country so frequently controverted, how much more difficult is it when we have to deal with ages long past, and facts either doubtful or incompletely known!

Unfortunately however the author's imperfect acquaintance with the general science of these matters has not only diminished the value of some of his arguments, but has also had a marked effect upon the distribution of his materials. This is more particularly seen in the parts where he had not, as in treating of the officers concerned in the management of the revenue, or the several items of the public income and expenditure, an obvious course of reasoning to follow. Accordingly in his discussions

of money and revenue in general is a copious source of fallacy to our author.

on prices, rates of profits, interest, &c., his diligence has scarcely compensated for the want of theoretical knowledge; and the value of his first book, either considered by itself, or as a groundwork for his subsequent enquiries, has thus been much diminished.

A large part of the first book is dedicated to an enumeration of the various prices of commodities in Attica[14], by comparing which with the actual prices of the same commodities, the author hopes to ascertain the relative wealth of Attica and modern nations. Now although this collection is most interesting and valuable, it is evident that he has much overrated its utility, and has committed a great though natural error in supposing that any inference can be drawn from the similarity or dissimilarity of ancient and modern prices. The ratio between the value of any one commodity, and of gold or silver, may be a safe criterion in the same place, and for short periods of time; but for distant ages and countries this comparison affords absolutely no information. For a comparison with prices in other countries at the

[14] Vol. I. p. 83—147.

same time, and for such a purpose as that to which the author has well applied it, in examining the authority of Polybius' statement with respect to the valuation of Attica, his list of prices may be used with advantage and security. But whether the precious metals, or labour, or any other standard, be adopted as a medium of comparison between the prices of commodities in ancient Greece and in modern Europe, the result must be equally fallacious and nugatory. For these reasons the translator has omitted to insert, as the author had done, the corresponding value of silver estimated in modern coin after each statement of price [15].

In the same book the author has likewise devoted a separate chapter[16] to the consideration of the ναυτικὸς τόκος or interest of money lent on bottomry: and on account of the large portion of Athenian capital which was thus employed in foreign commerce, this question is of considerable importance. From the instances cited by him, it appears that a very high premium was not unfrequently obtained upon capital

[15] See also vol. I. p. 383. and p. 337.

[16] Vol. I. p. 176.

thus invested. But it is evident that no general conclusion with regard to the rate of interest can be drawn from these facts (vol. I. p. 81.); for this was doubtless a most hazardous investment for money, on account of the imperfect knowledge which the ancients possessed of astronomy, from their ignorance of the compass, and the dangerous navigation of the narrow and stormy seas of Greece, as well as from the insecurity of laws and judicatures, demonstrated by the very institutions themselves which were meant as correctives of that evil[17].

It has been already mentioned that the author frequently draws unwarrantable conclusions from the rate of interest. It may however be fairly doubted, whether, if the "rate of interest is that sum which the lender receives and the borrower pays for the use of a certain amount of monied capital, without any consideration for trouble in the collection of the income, or for risk as to the punctual repayment of the interest or principal at the stipulated periods[18]," there was any thing which

[17] See what the author himself says, vol. I. p. 179.

[18] Tooke's Considerations on the Currency p. 11.

we could justly consider as a general or established rate of interest at Athens. There were no public securities nor means of investing money guaranteed by the national credit; and the insecurity of property, both from fear of revolution and foreign attack, must always have been so great, that it is difficult to think of any method of lending money in which there must not have been as to the punctual repayment of the interest or principal at the stipulated periods very great, but very variable, risks. With respect to money lent upon mortgage, which with us approaches next in safety to the public securities, the land in Attica was held upon so frail a tenure, on account of the liability to loss from invasion, that in this case again, a large yet uncertain indemnification for risk must have been requisite. In illustration of this it may be mentioned, that in a lease of some lands situated within a few miles of Athens, made 345 B. C., there is an express stipulation inserted with regard to the payment of the rent in case of injury from enemies[19].

[19] Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. No. 93.

Since Mr. Boeckh's work has appeared the Population of Attica has been examined by Mr. Fynes Clinton in the Appendix to his Fasti Hellenici[20]; by Mr. Letronne in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles Lettres[21]; and in part, by a writer in the Museum Criticum[22]. The first of these writers coincides very nearly with Mr. Boeckh, although he does not appear to have been acquainted with his dissertation; on the two last as their results are somewhat different, the translator thinks it right to offer a few remarks.

Mr. Letronne estimates the population of Attica, between 430 and 340 B. C. as follows:

Athenians of all ages and both sexes . .	70,000
Resident aliens of all ages and both sexes .	40,000
Slaves of all ages and both sexes . . .	110,000

By comparing this table with the results of Mr. Boeckh (vol. I. p. 52.), it will be seen that, although Mr. Letronne has made the number of the

[20] P. 387 sq. ed. 2.
[21] Tom. VI.
[22] I. p. 215.

Athenians and resident aliens lower, the chief difference is in the slaves, whose number is taken by Mr. Boeckh at 365,000. The manner in which he arrives at this conclusion is somewhat singular. In the first place he assumes that the number of the slaves ascertained by the census of Demetrius, which has been preserved by Athenæus, must be exaggerated. He then turns for some more authentic account to the Athenian writers: and he conceives that the true number may be discovered from a proposal of Xenophon, in his Essay on the Revenues, "that the State should purchase slaves, until there were three to each Athenian (*i. e.* 60,000);" the meaning of which is (he states) that the number to be bought, *together with* the slaves already in the country, would make up the ratio of three to one, "la quantité à acheter, jointe à celle qui existait dans le pays, doit compléter le rapport de trois à un dont il parle" (p. 195). This he collects from an expression which Xenophon afterwards uses, "that when the number of the slaves should have been raised to 10,000, the annual revenue obtained by letting them would be 100 talents." Hence he supposes that the utmost number intended by Xenophon was 10,000; and that the other 50,000

are male slaves in the vigour of body[23]. This number he doubles for the old-men, women, and children; and he therefore fixes the total aggregate of slaves at 110,000 or 120,000.

The meaning of this passage, which Mr. Letronne seems to have misunderstood, is explained in the present work; but it may be convenient to point out the error in his argument at once. Xenophon proposed to the State of Athens to purchase *public* slaves[24], until about 60,000 were procured; and that they should be let at a certain rate to private mine-proprietors, for the sake of producing a revenue to the community; that 1200 should be first obtained, and by applying the profit derived from these

[23] These 60,000 able-bodied male slaves he disposes of in the following manner (p. 209)

Slaves in the mines	12,000
——— in the city and its outskirts . . .	36,000
——— in the country	12,000

In the fragment of Hyperides quoted by Mr. Clinton (p. 391.) from Suidas in v. ἀπεψηφίσατο, it is stated that the number of slaves in the mines and in the country was 150,000.

[24] Xenoph. de Vectig. 4. 17. οὕτω καὶ ἡ πόλις κτῶτο δημόσια ἀνδράποδα.

to the purchase of fresh slaves, the number might in five or six years be raised to 6000, who would yield an income of 60 talents a year, to be employed partly in the same manner; and when there were as many as 10,000, the annual receipts would be 100 talents; "*but that the mines would afford employment for many times this number*, is evident from the large sums produced by the duty on slaves before the occupation of Decelea;" and he adds other reasons to shew that the mines could not be overstocked with labourers. As the argument, founded on the misapprehension here exposed, is made by Mr. Letronne the basis of his calculation, it would be unnecessary to add another word.

The object of the writer in the Museum Criticum is to ascertain the number of persons dwelling in the city of Athens alone; and he arrives at a result very different from that obtained by Mr. Boeckh, who, by estimating eighteen persons to a house, reckons that the city of Athens with the harbours contained 180,000 persons[25]. He argues as follows.

[25] Vol. I. p. 56.

It is known from Demosthenes that half the annual importation of corn into Attica amounted to 400,000 medimni, and from Aristotle that two-thirds of all imported corn (i. e. in this case 533,333⅓ medimni) were by law to be carried into the city. Then taking the consumption of a man at a chœnix a day, and that of women, children, and slaves at two-thirds of a chœnix[26], we have 91,428 for the inhabitants of Athens. This, he observes, is a very rough calculation, but he thinks that it is likely to come within 10,000 of the real number.

Now it is manifest that this calculation proceeds upon two assumptions: first, that *all* the foreign

[26] Mr. Clinton (Fast. Hell. p. 393. ed. 2.) has however shewn that two-thirds is too small a portion, and that twelve-thirteenths is more correct. He also observes that "the author (in the Museum Criticum) has assumed that the inhabitants of Athens were exclusively subsisted upon foreign corn;" and shews upon another consideration that the country probably furnished 980,000 medimni to the town. This argument is liable to the additional objection that it supposes the inhabitants of the country to be at the same time importers and exporters of corn. Mr. Böckh conceives, apparently with good reason, that slaves severally consumed a larger quantity of bread than freemen, see vol. I. p. 37.

corn carried into the city was consumed there; and, secondly, that *none but* foreign corn was consumed in the city. These propositions cannot apparently be true, unless we suppose that Attica produced a quantity of corn exactly sufficient, with the addition of a third part of the importation, for the consumption of the dwellers in the country: for it cannot be thought that the inhabitants of the country would send corn to the capital (nearly a seaport town), while they were themselves subsisting on foreign corn. Now it appears that it was not an uncommon practice to send barley at least into Athens from the country[27], a fact which seems utterly inconsistent with the above-mentioned regulation, which we have on the unquestionable authority of Aristotle. Then again it is impossible to suppose that the seasons were so regular in Attica (to say nothing of invasion) that the amount of corn required in the country was invariably a third part of the total importation. The difficulty seems however to admit of explanation.

[27] See vol. II. p. 38. notes 87 and 88. The article chosen by the honey-smuggler for the purpose of concealment is barley.

The meaning of the regulation with regard to the two-thirds[28] appears to be, as our author has explained it, that the harbour-masters (ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ ἐμπορίου) were to compel all merchants touching at the Piræeus with corn on board to sell two-thirds of their cargo in *Attica*, not in *Athens* as opposed to the *country*. Now Demosthenes only states the amount actually imported, which therefore is independant of the third of the cargo of such merchants as wished not to sell the whole; that remaining part being carried away to other countries. It is therefore unnecessary to attribute this absurd regulation to the Athenians; which, if its nature had been as is assumed by the writer in the Museum Criticum, could never have been put in practice; and even if it admitted of no satisfactory explanation,

[28] It is given by Harpocration apparently in the words of Aristotle: Ἐπιμελητὴς ἐμπορίου.—Ἀριστοτέλης· Ἐμπορίου δ' ἐπιμελητὰς δέκα κληροῦσιν, τούτοις δὲ προστέτακται τῶν τε ἐμπορίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦ σίτου τοῦ καταπλέοντος εἰς τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἐμπόριον τὰ δύο μέρη τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἀναγκάζειν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ κομίζειν. Also Suidas: Ἐπιμεληταὶ ἐχειροτονοῦντο τῶν χορῶν ὡς μὴ ἀτακτεῖν τοὺς χορευτὰς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις. ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐμπορίου ἄρχοντες εἰσὶ κληρωτοὶ ἑκάστου ἔτους καθιστάμενοι, οἷς προστέτακτο ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ καταπλέοντος σίτου εἰς τὸ ἐμπόριον τὸ Ἀττικὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἀναγκάζειν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ κομίζειν. Hence both in the method of their nomination, and the duration of their office, these were strictly democratical magistrates.

ought not to be made the condition of a problem which requires it not merely to have been a form of words, but a law constantly enforced and acted upon[29].

In making the foregoing observations, the translator is aware that he may be accused of outstepping his legitimate province, and of passing judgment upon opinions which he should only have been the instrument of conveying. On the whole work, it might perhaps be ascribed to the supposed partiality of a translator, if he were to express as favourable an opinion as he really entertains. He cannot however avoid remarking, that the author has collected and arranged an immense mass of information on a most interesting subject; that he has spared neither time nor research; and that

[29] There is also another reason against supposing that the regulation with regard to the two-thirds had the meaning given to it by the writer in the Museum Criticum, viz. that all the corn imported into the Piræeus must, before it went into the country, have passed through the city. Now there was no inlet by which much corn passed into Attica, except Oropus and the Piræeus. The former was chiefly, if not exclusively, used for the Eubœan corn; and we know from Demosthenes, that at least half of the quantity imported must have been unshipped in the Piræeus.

whatever reason the reader may sometimes see to question his opinions on these very doubtful and disputable subjects, his accuracy in citation and the good faith of his statements are implicitly to be relied upon. In gratitude then for so great toil and learning, the reader must overlook his occasional errors, and forgive the omissions and defects in the remembrance of what has been well and laboriously done—Τοῖς μὲν παραλελειμμένοις συγγνώμην τοῖς δὲ πεπραγμένοις πολλὴν χάριν ἔχειν.

For himself the translator asks no other praise than that of a sincere and earnest desire for the promotion and diffusion of knowledge on these interesting subjects[30].

[30] The translator has not attempted to follow any uniform system of orthography for Greek names; it seems indeed that the forms *Solon* and *Plato, Samos* and *Crœsus,* are as much established by custom in our language, as those of any words not in constant use.

CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

Of prices, wages, and interest of money in Attica.

1. Introduction.
2. Contents of this Book. Gold and silver the standard of prices.
3. Gradual increase of the precious metals.
4. Of silver money, and of the silver talent in particular.
5. Of gold coins, and the gold talent.
6. The price of gold and other metals in comparison with silver.
7. Population of Attica.
8. Agriculture and native products.
9. Commerce.
10. Cheapness in ancient times.
11. Lands. Mines.
12. Houses.
13. Slaves.
14. Cattle.
15. Corn and Bread.
16. Wine, oil, salt, wood.
17. Meals; obsonium: meat, birds, fish, vegetables, honey, &c.
18. Clothes, shoes, ointment.
19. Implements and furniture of various kinds, arms, ships.
20. What sum was necessary for the maintenance of life, and proportion of the same to the national wealth.
21. Wages of labour.
22. Interest of money; money-changers; mortgage of land.
23. Bottomry.
24. Rent of houses, land, &c.

BOOK II.

On the administration of finance, and the public expenditure.

1. Whether the system of finance in the ancient states had the same importance as in modern times.
2. Objects of my enquiries.
3. Supreme authorities for the financial legislation and administration. People and Senate. Preparatory offices of finance.
4. Apodectæ.
5. Treasurers of the Goddess and of the other Gods.
6. Manager of the public revenue, or treasurer of the administration. Subordinate offices for the administration.
7. Hellenotamiæ, funds for war, funds for the Theorica.
8. Clerks, checking-clerks. System of examining the accounts.
9. Whether a regular estimate and comparison of the Revenue and Expenditure existed. On the different branches of Expenditure.
10. Building.
11. Police: Scythians.
12. Celebration of festivals and sacrifices.
13. Donations to the people.
14. Pay of the public assembly and of the senate.
15. Pay of the courts of justice.
16. On some other persons receiving salaries from the public.
17. Maintenance for the poor.
18. Public rewards.
19. Arms, ships, cavalry.
20. Approximate estimate of the regular Expenditure. Of the extraordinary expences in general.
21. Military force of the Athenians.
22. Pay and provision.
23. Equipment of the fleet, and artillery. Sieges.
24. Calculation of the war-expenditure, with examples.

BOOK III.

On the regular revenues of the Athenian state.

1. Different kinds of public revenues in the Grecian republics.
2. Duties arising from lands, houses, and similar property of the state, of companies, and temples.
3. Of mines.
4. Of custom-duties; the fiftieth.
5. Conjectures upon harbour-duties and the hundredths. Market tolls.
6. Twentieths. Tithes: Different sorts of the latter.
7. Poll-taxes, and taxes upon industry: Protection-money, Tax upon slaves, Tax upon prostitutes, &c.
8. General remarks upon these taxes, particularly upon the method of levying and paying them.
9. Fees in the courts of justice, and fines. Prytaneia, Parastasis.
10. Appeal-money; Paracatabole; Epobelia.
11. Of the fines (τιμήματα) in general.
12. Examples of the different fines.
13. Of the public debtors.
14. Of the confiscation of property.
15. Tributes of the allies. Origin of the same, and of the relation which the allies bore to Athens. Amount of the tributes before the Anarchy.
16. General survey of the allies with reference to the tribute before the Anarchy.
17. Of the tributes and the allies after the Anarchy.
18. Of the Cleruchiæ.
19. Total amount of the annual Revenue.
20. History of the public Treasure.
21. Of the Liturgies in general, and of the regular ones in particular.
22. Choregia.
23. Gymnasiarchy. Feasting of the Tribes or Hestiasis.

BOOK IV.

Of the extraordinary revenues of the Athenian state, and the peculiar financial measures of the Greeks.

1. Contents of this Book. Of the property taxes in general.
2. Of the sources of prosperity in Attica, and of the public care for the same.
3. Individual instances of the property of Athenian citizens, and of the division of the national wealth among the different classes.
4. Nearer determination of the national wealth of Attica.
5. Of the Valuation. Ancient constitution with reference to the finances. Valuation of Solon, and the changes in it before the Archonship of Nausinicus.
6. Register. Register of lands; General register of property.
7. Valuation in the Archonship of Nausinicus.
8. What part of the valuation and of the property was raised as an extraordinary tax, with reference to the property tax in the year of Nausinicus.
9. Symmoriæ of the property taxes after the year of Nausinicus. Of the advance of taxes, and of other things relating to the payment of taxes.
10. Of the taxes and Liturgies of the Resident Aliens.
11. Of the Trierarchy in general.
12. First form of the Trierarchy, or the Trierarchy of Individuals. Second form of the Trierarchy, or the Trierarchy in part of Individuals and in part of two Syntrierarchs, from Olymp. 92. 1. until Olymp. 105. 3.
13. Third form of the Trierarchy. Synteliæ and Symmoriæ from Olymp. 105. 4. until the end of the 109th Olympiad.
14. Fourth form. Trierarchy according to the valuation by the law of Demosthenes after Olymp. 110. $\frac{1}{2}$.
15. General observations upon the expences of the Trierarchy.
16. Of the Exchange.

17. Pecuniary difficulties, Subsidies, Plunder, Captures, forced and voluntary Contributions.
18. Loans.
19. Alterations in the currency.
20. Various other measures.
21. Xenophon's proposals for the advancement of the prosperity of Athens.
22. Conclusion.

A Dissertation on the Silver-mines of Laurion.

Index.

THE

PUBLIC ECONOMY

OF

ATHENS.

THE

PUBLIC ECONOMY

OF

ATHENS.

BOOK I.

(1.) IF the character and importance of a nation were to be estimated only by the extent of its territory and population, the Athenian state would rank far below the hordes of the Huns and Mongols.* But mere space and numbers are of little avail, without the presence of that spirit, by which alone the great body of a people can be animated and combined. To the operation of this cause must the superiority of the Athenians be ascribed; by this power their scanty bands overthrew the countless hosts of the Barbarians at Marathon, at Salamis, and at Platææ: and hundreds of subject states submitted to the dominion of one small city, as large armies obey the commands of one general. Not that Athens, while thus signalizing herself in the field, was regardless of the more beneficial pursuits of peace: and having conceived and executed all that was most beautiful in art and profound in philosophy, she became the instructress of all liberal sciences and arts; the teacher alike of her own times and of posterity. The intellectual faculties however are not of themselves sufficient: to produce external action they require the aid of physical force, the direction and combination of which are wholly at the disposal of money; that mighty spring by which

the whole machinery of human energies is set in motion. For a state, and for a family, a regular and settled economy are alike necessary; and as the relations between the state and its members have in great measure a mutual dependence upon the regulations of the public economy, so it becomes impossible to obtain a correct insight into the private life of the ancients, without a knowledge of their finances; nor of their financial system, without a minute enquiry into the internal organization of both their public and private economy. For these reasons I have undertaken to explain, as fully as my abilities and extent of knowledge will permit, the Public Economy of Athens, the greatest and most noble among the Grecian states. In the prosecution of these enquiries, truth has been my only aim; nor shall I regret, if it be made apparent from my labours, that the ancients as well as the moderns were not free from stain in their pecuniary dealings. Or are the histories of past ages to be written merely for the inspiration of youth; and shall the historian of antiquity conceal, that in those as well as the present days, nothing among men was perfect? Let us confess rather, that of the most excellent men of antiquity, many laboured under the failings common to the human race; that in their less polished nature these vices broke out so much the more powerfully, as their hearts were less awakened to piety by the mildness and humility of a more benevolent religion; that, lastly, these faults (so long encouraged and cherished) undermined and overthrew the lordly edifice of antiquity itself.

Of the vast range of topics which here come under consideration, few have hitherto been subjected to a comprehensive and accurate scrutiny. General views and ingenious speculations do not supply the place of sound investigation; and the more scanty are our sources of information, the

more urgent becomes the obligation to use the materials faithfully, and from them to deduce general conclusions equally removed from flippant and vague superficiality on the one hand, and the affectation of learning on the other, which adorns itself with the specious tinsel of critical and grammatical display. Every other method either leaves the reader (as is the custom with most writers on ancient history) to wander among innumerable and almost isolated particulars, in appearance only connected together; or leads him into errors, which captivate and bias the judgment by their apparent beauty. Thus, for example, it has been attempted to account for the indifference of the ancients to productive labour and their inattention to matters of finance, by the dominion of religion over their minds; but (not to mention that piety accords better with a well than an ill regulated economy) the supposition itself is false; for neither do we find that the ancient states attached less importance to the public income and expenditure, than is attributed to them at the present day; nor that individuals had a greater disregard for worldly possessions. If the system of finance in the Grecian states was ill regulated, the defect must be assigned to other causes, which are to be sought for in their civil institutions. With regard to the science of Political Economy, it was, I admit, uncultivated among the ancients: its relations were too simple to be made the subjects of a scientific analysis; for the ancients until the time of Aristotle (and he also in some degree), treated the sciences under very general heads, without allotting a particular science to each separate department of practical life. For this reason, Aristotle in his Politics speaks both of Education and Finance, but only as incidental and subordinate topics: in the Œconomics falsely attributed to this

philosopher, Political Economy is treated of scientifically, and in the manner of Aristotle, but briefly and imperfectly. Plato's work upon the Republic contains indeed nothing of a system of finance; for in such ideal states as that of Plato, a well regulated Economy was no more requisite than an explicit Code of Laws. The ancients moreover laid down the limits more strictly between those things which are capable of scientific investigation, and such as do not admit of it: but the art of finance, whilst it rests only on uncertain conditions, teaching us how to provide for perpetually varying wants from a perpetually varying revenue, and how to assign to both their due limits and proportions, in conformity with the powers and circumstances of the state, seemed to the ancients as not admitting of a scientific examination. Rules for practice were not by any means wanting, although they varied according to time and place, and were brought to unequal degrees of perfection. Sparta, with her simple form of government, was unfitted for the adoption of a regular system of finance; while in Athens the expenditure and revenue were so considerable, that attention to matters of finance soon became imperatively necessary. But it was not until the Persian war, that all the ramifications of her financial institutions were finally developed; and after the time of Alexander, they necessarily lost their peculiar character with the loss of national independence. To the interval between these two epochs my enquiries will therefore be confined: subjects both of earlier and later date, as well as the constitutions of other Grecian states, I only touch upon incidentally. In Athens however, and within the period just mentioned, the Public Economy of Greece is seen upon its largest scale; and all the democratic states of the Greeks had doubtless nearly similar institutions of finance,

with such variations only as were necessarily induced by the peculiar situation and circumstances of individual countries. For these reasons therefore we must the more regret, that writings such as Aristotle's "Constitution of Athens," and the work of Philochorus, from which detailed explanations of such peculiarities might have been looked for, have been for ever lost; and that others, as, for example, Xenophon's Essay upon the Sources of Revenue (περὶ πόρων), have yielded an amount of information so lamentably deficient.

(2.) The amount of money required for the public Service, and how far the Income received was capable of providing for it, together with the amount of the Revenue, and the proportion which it bore to the means of the People, cannot be ascertained without knowing the Prices of commodities, the customary Wages of labour, and the ordinary Profit and Interest of stock. Upon the last of these subjects it is unnecessary to say much after the labours of Salmasius: at the same time every indulgence should be shewn to any one who attempts to give an account of the prices of commodities: for their necessary mutability, and the uncertainty of the few sources from which information can be derived, impede the investigation at every step; the chief authorities on this subject being either the incidental statements of Comic poets, or the assertions of orators, who mould every fact to suit their particular purpose. Nor have my enquiries been assisted by the labours of any previous writer[1], as Barthé-

[1] Meursius De Fort. Att. cap. IV. or Gillies' Observations upon the History, Manners, and Character of the Greeks from the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war until the battle of Chæronea, in the Introduction, and single scattered notices cannot be considered as forming any exception.

lemy[2] has allowed himself to be deterred by the apparent difficulty of the task; although not the Roman only, but even the Hebrew antiquity, has been subjected to such investigations[3]. It will be the object therefore of the first book to ascertain the rates of prices, wages, and interest.

The precious metals, silver and gold, are the standard of prices; although it is obvious that silver or gold may be said with the same propriety, to be dearer or cheaper in comparison with other commodities, as other commodities to be cheaper or dearer in comparison with the precious metals. And in fact, when we hear in ancient times of a smaller quantity of the precious metals being given in exchange for other commodities, it did not arise from the value of those commodities being less than at present, but from the value of the metals being greater. For the aggregate stock of all commodities requisite for the purposes of life, exclusive of gold and silver, doubtless upon an average maintained the same proportion to the demand as in modern times, with the exception only of particular articles, the use of which is not indispensably necessary for human existence: while the quantity of the precious metals has in the course of centuries been augmented by the continued working of mines, at the same time that their dura-

[2] See Anacharsis, tom. VII. p. 286. 4ième éd.

[3] Hamberger de pretiis rerum apud veteres Romanos disputatio, Gotting. 1754. 4to. Kessenbrink über das Verhältniss des Werths des Geldes zu den Lebensmitteln seit Constantin dem Grossen bis zur Theilung des Reichs unter Theodosius dem Grossen, und über desselben Einfluss. Berlin. 1777, 8vo. Both those writings received the prize. Michaelis de pretiis rerum apud Hebræos ante exilium Babylonicum. Comm. Soc. Reg. Scient. Gotting. tom. III. (1753.) p. 145.

bility and value have on most occasions preserved them from destruction.

(3.) The quantity of the precious metals in Greece, more particularly that portion of them which was in circulation as coin, although at first it increased but slowly, afterwards experienced a more rapid augmentation, when the invasion of Xerxes had opened the treasures of the East; and prices rose in the same proportion; so that in the time of Demosthenes the value of money appears to have been five times less than in the age of Solon. Both in Rome and in Greece at an early period, the quantity of metals, and particularly of gold, was very inconsiderable: in the time of Crœsus, according to Theopompus, it was not to be procured in Greece. The Lacedæmonians, wishing to obtain some gold for a sacred offering, purchased it of Crœsus, manifestly because they could not procure it nearer home[4]. Alcmæon the Athenian laid the foundation of the wealth of his family, when Crœsus permitted him to take as much gold out of his treasury as he could carry at once[5]. Even in the seventieth Olympiad gold was still a rarity. Hiero of Syracuse, wishing to send a statue of Victory and a tripod of pure gold to the Delphian Apollo, was unable to procure the requisite quantity of that metal, until his agents came to Architeles the Corinthian, who had long bought up and collected gold in small portions, as the same Theopompus and Phanias of Eresos relate[6]. In Greece proper there were not many mines of the precious

[4] Concerning Rome, see Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXIII. 5 sqq. 16 sqq. 47 sqq. On the other points, see Theopomp. ap. Athen. VI. p. 231 sq. cf. p. 230. B. Herod. I. 69.

[5] Herod. VI. 125.

[6] Athen. VI. ubi sup.

metals. The most remarkable among these were the Athenian silver mines of Laurion, which at first were very productive. Thessaly contained mines of gold, Siphnos both of silver and gold, and Epirus, which bordered upon Greece, possessed silver mines; the same metal was also found in Cyprus[7]. But the mountains of Pangæa upon the confines of Thrace and Macedonia contained immense riches; from them flows the Hebrus, celebrated for its golden sands[8]. And in addition to the gold and silver mines which were upon the mountains themselves, the precious metals were found on both sides of them, to the west as far as the Strymon and Pæonia, and to the east as far as Scapte Hyle[9]. Even in Pæonia, it was said that the husbandman turned up particles of gold in ploughing[10]. On the eastern side were the important gold mines of Scapte Hyle, and the precious metals extended across the sea as far as Thasos, where very considerable and productive workings had been set on foot by the Phœnicians, who had also first established mining in that region upon the main-land, which was afterwards taken up by the Thasians, until the Athenians obtained possession of these mines[11]. Upon the western side in Macedonia the mines were so productive, that Alexander the First, the son of Amyntas, in the time of the Persian war, received from them a talent of silver

[7] For more on this subject, see Reitemeier *über den Bergbau der Alten*, p. 64 sqq. Concerning Laurion, see book III. 3.

[8] Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXIII. 21. and others.

[9] Herod. VII. 112. Strab. VII. p. 228. (ed. 1587.) and elsewhere. Xenoph. Hellen. V. 2. 12. Plin. Hist. Nat. VII. 57. Athen. II. p. 42. B. Lucian. Icaromenip. 18. and the scholiast. Clemens Alexand. &c.

[10] Strab. ut sup.

[11] See book III. 3.

daily[12]; but the chief places were Daton and Crenides, afterwards Philippi, which in the first year of the 105th Olympiad was taken possession of by the Thasians; subsequently however Philip of Macedon is said to have worked the mines with so much success, that they yielded 1000 talents a year, although previously they had not been very productive; and it was in this spot that, according to the common belief, the gold grew again[13]. When therefore ancient historians affirm[14] that Philip had a golden chalice, which he guarded with such anxiety, that he laid it under his pillow when he went to sleep; and again, that before the time of Philip a silver vessel was a rarity; it does not by any means follow that the quantity of precious metal extracted from the earth was inconsiderable, for extensive mines had long been worked both in Greece and the neighbouring regions, and much gold and silver had been brought over from the east; we can only infer from these statements, that little gold had been wrought for private use, and that luxury had not yet attained its greatest height.

Asia and Africa furnished by far the larger proportion of the precious metals; some also was supplied from places which remained for a time in the possession of the Greeks; thus, for instance, there were gold mines at Astyra, near Abydos, which were still worked in the time of Xenophon[15], but subsequently were abandoned[16]. Not to dwell upon Egypt and the rest of Africa, or many single spots

[12] Herod. V. 17.

[13] Strab. ut sup. Diod. XVI. 3, 8. Appian. Bell. Civ. IV. 106. Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXVII. 15. Pseud-Arist. Mirab. Aus. cap. 42.

[14] Ap. Athen. VI. ut sup.

[15] Xenoph. Hellen. IV. 8, 37.

[16] Strab. XIII. p. 407.

where the precious metals occurred, I shall only notice some prominent points: Colchis, Lydia, and Phrygia, were celebrated as countries rich in gold: from the gold washings at Colchis arose the fable of the golden fleece[17]; and who has not heard of Midas and Gyges, and the riches of Crœsus; the gold mines of Tmolus and Sipylus, and the golden sands of the Pactolus? Pythes, or Pythius, the Lydian, the prince of Celænæ near the sources of the Mæander, the richest and most unfortunate man of his time, possessed, according to report, from his mines and gold washings, 2000 talents of silver, and 3,993,000 golden darics, which Xerxes increased to 4,000,000[18]. If we only take the third part of this amount as the true sum, what enormous riches are these for a petty prince. Upon the whole there were immense sums of money accumulated in Persia, which prove the abundance of the precious metals, although not in circulation. Cyrus, according to the account of Pliny[19], acquired 34,000lbs. of gold by the conquest of Asia, besides wrought gold and other vessels; and of silver, which is difficult to believe, 500,000 talents, i. e. probably Egyptian talents of eighty Roman pounds. Deducting whatever sums might be levied by the Satraps, or consumed in the provinces for the uses of the government, in the time of Darius the son of Hystaspes, there flowed yearly into the royal treasury 7600 Babylonian talents of silver[20], each of which, according to Herodotus[21], is equal to 70

[17] Strab. I. p. 31. XI. p. 343. and the commentators. Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXIII. 15.

[18] Herod. VII. 28. and the commentators.

[19] XXXIII. 15.

[20] Herod. III. 95.

[21] Herod. III. 89.

Euboic minas, altogether 8866⅔ Euboic talents. In the text of Herodotus, however, the whole amount is reckoned at 9540, and only one MS. gives 8800, an error which it is now impossible to rectify. Besides this, the Indians paid an annual tribute of 360 Euboic talents of fine gold, which, reckoning the ratio of gold to silver as 13 to 1, amounts to 4680 talents of silver; so that, according to the text of the historian, the revenue of the king of Persia amounted to 14,560, or (if we only reckon what is stated in Herodotus according to the present reading), to 13,546 Euboic talents. From the productive mines of India, and from its rivers, of which the sand contained particles of gold (among which in particular the Ganges may be mentioned), arose the fable of the ants which dug up gold[22]. From these annual receipts the treasure of the king was accumulated, and an immense mass of the precious metals was thus kept out of circulation: it was obviously their principle to coin only just so much gold and silver as was necessary for commerce and the expences of the state[23]. Even in Greece large sums remained out of circulation, accumulated in the treasuries. 9700 talents of coined silver were kept in the Acropolis of Athens, besides the gold and silver vessels. The Delphian Apollo had an immense collection of the most precious treasures. Gyges sent many gold and silver offerings to Delphi; among these were six golden goblets, 30 talents in weight, which were deposited there in the Corinthian treasury[24]. Passing over the numberless gifts of others, I shall only make mention of

[22] Herod. III. 102 sqq. Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXIII. 21. and Strabo in the 15th book in several places.

[23] Strab. XV. p. 505.

[24] Herod. I. 14.

the pious munificence of Crœsus[25]; in addition to the presents which he made to other temples, he offered up a large quantity of silver at Delphi, a bowl of this metal containing 6000 amphoræ, four silver casks, a gold and a silver cauldron, round silver pateræ, a golden statue, three cubits high, 117 half ingots of gold, weighing altogether, according to Herodotus, 232½ talents, of which, 4½ talents were of pure gold, and the rest alloyed (Diodorus reckons inaccurately 120, each at two talents); a golden lion, weighing ten talents, from which, at the burning of the temple during the reign of Pisistratus, 3½ talents of pure gold were melted away; a golden bowl, 8 talents and 42 minas in weight; and also, according to Diodorus, 360 golden cups, each of two minas; besides many other valuable gifts. The cups, the lion, and the female statue, three ells in height, Diodorus reckons at 30 talents, so that eight talents remain for the weight of the latter. If the several items are added together, the sacred offerings of Crœsus, without counting many other precious ornaments, amounted in gold alone to more than 271 talents, exclusive of the gifts of which the weight is not mentioned. If we add the rest of the gold, the account of Diodorus, that subsequently gold coins were struck from it equal in value to 4000 talents of silver, does not appear exaggerated. These accumulated masses of the precious metals were however gradually dispersed, and chiefly by the effects of war. When the king of Persia took with him into the field money and valuables sufficient to load 1200 camels[26], the misfortunes of his army enriched the Greeks in a correspond-

[25] Herod. I. 50 sqq. Diod. XVI. 56. To examine what Wesseling says upon the latter passage would lead me too far.

[26] Demosth. de Symmor. p. 185.

ing proportion; and history has recorded many instances of persons who in this manner laid the foundation of their prosperity. The great King and his Satraps were soon compelled to pay large sums of gold to the Grecian mercenaries, and to deal out presents and bribes. Sparta alone received more than 5000 talents from the Persians, for the purposes of war[27]. All the treasures that Athens had collected were dispersed into many hands by the numerous buildings undertaken by Pericles, together with the expences of which he was author, for works of statuary, for theatrical spectacles, and military expeditions. The sacrilegious Phocians coined 10,000 talents in gold and silver from the treasures of Delphi, which were all dissipated by the war[28]; and, lastly, Philip of Macedon carried on his campaigns as much by the power of gold as of arms. Thus an immense quantity of gold came into circulation between the time of the Persian war and the age of Demosthenes; and the precious metals must necessarily have fallen in value, as they did subsequently, when Constantine the Great caused money to be coined from the treasures of the Heathen temples[29]. How great however must have been the mass of the precious metals which was carried into the West by Alexander's conquest of Asia! admitting that the accounts of his historians are exaggerated, the chief point still remains unquestionable. Besides what was found in the camp and in Babylon, the treasures of Susa and Persis are reckoned at forty, or, ac-

[27] Isocr. συμμαχ. 32.

[28] Diod. ut sup. Athen. VI. p. 231. D.

[29] Monitio ad Theodos. Aug. de inhibenda largitate Thes. Ant. Rom. vol. XI. p. 14, 15. according to Taylor's explanation ad Marm. Sandwic. p. 38.

cording to others, at fifty thousand talents[30]. The treasure of Pasargadæ is stated at 6000, of Persepolis at 120,000 talents; and upon the whole, according to the account preserved in Strabo, 180,000 talents are said to have been collected from all parts to Ecbatana[31]; 8000, which Darius had with him, were taken by his murderers. The generosity and profusion of Alexander are in accordance with such enormous sums. The daily meals of this sovereign cost 100 minas; he gave great rewards to his soldiers, and paid their debts amounting to 9870 talents; he offered 100 talents to Phocion, and presented 2000 to the Thessalians; the funeral of Hephæstion is said to have cost 12,000 talents, and Aristotle's researches into natural history 800[32]. He levied in Asia an annual revenue of 30,000 talents, and only left behind him a treasure of 50,000[33]. The riches of his Satraps were also excessive; Harpalus is said to have amassed 50,000 talents, although at Athens he only owned to the possession of 950[34]. Alexander's successors not only accumulated enormous sums, but by means of their wars set them again in circulation. The plates of gold and silver in the palace at Ecbatana were mostly taken away in the time of Alexander: Antigonus and Seleucus Nicator completed the robbery; notwithstanding which, Antiochus the Great was able to coin nearly 4000

[30] Strab. XV. p. 502. Arrian. III. 3. Justin. XI. 14. Curt. V. 2. Plutarch. Alex. 36.

[31] Strab. ut sup. and others.

[32] Concerning the debts of the soldiers and of Phocion, see Plut. Alex. 70. Phoc. 18. the other statements are well known from Rambach on Potter. vol. III. p. 186, 187.

[33] Justin. XIII. 1. and the commentators.

[34] Diod. XVII. 108. Lives of the Ten Orators, p. 264. in the Tübingen Plutarch.

talents from the few ingots of gold which remained, those of silver being more numerous, together with the gold obtained from the chasing of the columns of a temple[35]. The immense taxes which were raised in the kingdom of Macedonia, and the unbounded extravagance and liberality of the kings, are a proof that there must have been an immense mass of money in circulation. The presents made by the kings of this time to the Rhodians, when about the 140th Olympiad their town and island were laid waste by an earthquake, are almost without example[36]. One festival of the Ptolemies did not cost less than 2239 talents, 50 minas[37]. The expence which they incurred for their naval force and other public objects was extraordinary. Appian[38] states upon the authority of official documents, that the treasure of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the second king after Alexander, amounted to 740,000 talents, either Egyptian talents of 80 Roman pounds, or the small Ptolemaic[39]. If we take the former, which were about equal to the Attic, it gives, in the money of the present day, the enormous sum of £178,868,333; if they were the small talents, it amounts at least to a fourth part of this number. An account of this kind appears fabulous; but I venture not to call its credibility into question. Let it be remembered, that a great part of this treasure was wrought silver and gold[40]; that the revenues of the Ptolemies were excessive, as the countries where their dominion extended were completely drained; the taxes and tri-

[35] Polyb. X. 27.

[36] Polyb. V. 88, 89.

[37] Athen. V. p. 203. B.

[38] Hist. Rom. procem. 10.

[39] Upon this point see the commentators of Pollux, IX. 86.

[40] Cf. e. g. Callixen. ap. Athen. V. p. 196—203.

butes were collected by the farmers of the revenue, with the assistance of an armed force, consisting not of regular soldiers, but of organized bands of robbers. The revenues of Cœlesyria, Phœnicia, and Judæa together with Samaria, were alone let by Ptolemy Euergetes for 8000 talents; and if a Jew purchased them, he had to pay a double amount, and moreover to furnish into the royal treasury[41] the money required for the redemption of the confiscated goods of such persons as had not paid their taxes. In short, the precious metals in the times of the Macedonian Empire were spread in great abundance over the eastern shore of the Mediterranean; and if there had not been so much that was either wrought, or hoarded up in treasuries, their value must have fallen far lower in comparison with other commodities, than was actually the case.

The universal dominion of the Romans afterwards transported some part of the riches of the East to Italy, by which Greece was impoverished: thither also flowed the silver and the gold of western Europe. The golden stream-works and gold mines of Italy were neglected in comparison with those of France and Spain. The Po, and all the Alpine torrents, carried down gold: there were extensive gold mines in the territory of the Salassi, an Alpine nation. Not far from Aquileia, gold, nearly in a state of purity, was found at the depth of two feet, of the size of a bean or a lupine, of which only the eighth part went to dross, together with other impurer metal, which was however provided in plenty by only digging to the depth of fifteen feet, as Strabo and Polybius relate. The neighbouring countries were also possessed of gold-washings. In the reign of Nero, 50lbs. of gold were for a considerable period

[41] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. XII. 4.

extracted daily from the mines of Dalmatia. France abounded in gold mines, of which some produced only a thirtieth part of silver: it had also silver mines. The mountains and rivers of Spain, as for example the Tajo, contained much precious metal, and had been worked by the Carthaginians before they fell into the hands of the Romans. Private individuals gained in plentiful times an Euboic talent of silver within three days; and the silver furnaces of New Carthage, which together with the mines kept 40,000 men in employment, produced to the Roman people 25,000 denarii per diem, or, as Polybius expresses himself, 25,000 drachmas. Gallœcia, Lusitania, and especially Asturia, produced for many years 20,000lbs. of gold[42]. The value of the precious metals did not however fall in proportion to their increase, as large quantities, wrought for works of art, were taken out of circulation.

(4.) Coined metal, or money, is, as well as uncoined metal, a commodity; and it is obvious that in the ancient days of Greece, as well as in modern times, it would be an object of trade with the money-changers. If we exclude the arbitrary value which individual states are able to give to a particular kind of coin for the use of their own citizens, the current value of money is determined by the fineness of the standard; and upon this point, in reference

[42] Every thing that is here said may be found in Strabo, in the third, fourth, and fifth books, in Pliny in the thirteenth, and in Diodorus in the fifth, particularly in chap. 27, and 36. Whoever wishes to obtain more precise information with regard to the situations of the mines in ancient times, will find a satisfactory account in Reitemeier's Treatise über den Bergbau der Alten. I have only here incidentally mentioned the subject. Concerning the Spanish mines, Bethe, de Hispaniæ antiquæ re metallica, ad locum Strabonis lib. III. is worth referring to.

to the Greeks, and to Athens in particular, I will only say so much as appears necessary to make what follows intelligible to the reader. In Attica, and in almost all the Grecian states, and even out of Greece, the talent contained 60 minas, the mina 100 drachmas, the drachma 6 oboli. At Athens the obolus was divided into 8 chalcûs, and the chalcûs into 7 lepta. As far as the half obolus downwards, the Athenian money was generally coined in silver: the dichalcon, or $\frac{1}{4}$ obolus, either in silver or copper; the chalcûs, and the smaller coins, only in copper. Upon a single occasion, in the early times of the Republic, copper was coined instead of silver, probably oboli, but they did not long remain in circulation [43]. When in later writers, in Lucian [44] for instance, we read of copper oboli, they should not on any account be considered as ancient Athenian money. Among the larger silver coins, the tetradrachms are the most common, called also staters [45]. The value of the Attic silver talent has been differently determined by different writers, as they set out upon the weight and fineness of different tetradrachms; for all agree that the early coins are better than the more recent. According to the enquiries of Barthélemy [46], which seem preferable to those of Eckhel [47], the ancient tetradrachms, coined in the flourishing times of Athens, weigh 328 Paris grains (nearly

[43] See chap. 6. near the end.

[44] Vol. I. p. 504. ed. Reiz.

[45] According to Heron of Alexandria, who has been already quoted by others. The same is evident from Hesych. in v. γλαυξ, cf. in v. γλαῦκες Λαυρεωτικαί. Phot. in v. στατὴρ, and Lex. Seg. p. 253. in v. ἐπιτρίτους, comp. Harpocrat. in the same word, and lastly Lex. Seg. p. 307. in v. τετράδραχμον.

[46] Anachars. tom. VII. table XIV.

[47] D. N. vol. I. p. xlv sqq.

269 Troy grains, i. e. about 67¼ to a drachma), if we reckon in four grains, which they might have lost by wear in the course of so many centuries. The silver is nearly pure, for Athens did not, like other states, alloy it with lead or copper, on which account this money was particularly valued, and every where exchanged with profit[48]. It appears however probable, that the average was not so high as represented by Barthélemy, even without allowing four grains for wear; and that it is safer to take the Attic drachma at 65 Troy grains; which, as the shilling contains about 80¾ grains of pure silver, is nearly equal to 9⅝*d.* of English coinage; whence the mina amounts to £4 0*s.* 6⅜*d.* and the talent to £241 13*s.* 4*d.*[a]. It may be moreover observed, that as the Romans reckoned in sesterces, so the Greeks generally reckoned in drachmas;

[48] Xenoph. de Vectig. 3. cf. Aristoph. Ran. 730—736. Polyb. XXII. 15, 26.

[a] The translator has taken the liberty of deviating from the author in adapting this calculation to English money, and has preferred the data furnished by Mr. Knight in his Prolegomena to Homer (§. 56.) to the estimate of Barthélemy, which is followed in the original. The statement referred to is this: "Drachmæ Ægineticæ, quas vidi conservatissimas, tum ipsius Æginæ tum Thebarum, Tanagræ, Elidis, et Phocidis, granorum xcv. plus minusve erant singulæ; et didrachmæ cxc. quum drachmæ Athenarum et Alexandri Magni lxv.; didrachmæ, quæ rarissimæ, cxxx. sint." The Æginetan drachma contained ten, the Attic six, oboli; therefore their values are to one another in a ratio of 20 to 12; the ratio of their weights (as stated by Mr. Knight) is 19 to 13. This therefore is an additional reason for not taking the average Attic drachma at more than 65 grains. The author at first makes an allowance for seignorage, but afterwards properly remarks, that we have no reason for supposing that the Athenians imposed any.

and where a sum is mentioned in the Attic writers, without any specification of the unit, drachmas are always meant[49].

Before the time of Solon, the weight of the Attic money was greater than in the standard that was afterwards used. The weights commonly employed in trade were also in later times heavier than those by which the money was measured. Comparing these facts together, it may be assumed with the greatest probability, that Solon intended 100 drachmas to be coined out of 75, but that the new money proved in fact rather too much debased, so that 100 new drachmas were only equal to $72\frac{23}{25}$ of the old coinage; the old weights being however retained for every thing except money[50]. In comparison with the heavy drachma of Ægina (δραχμὴ παχεῖα), the Attic is called the light drachma (δραχμὴ λεπτή); the former was equal to ten Attic oboli; so that the Æginetan talent weighed rather more than 10,000 Attic drachmas[51]. The Corinthian talent was equal to the latter in value[52]; the Corinthians however had staters or decalitras of ten Æginetan oboli in weight[53], 300 of which were consequently equal to the Corinthian talent. The computation by litras was transmitted from Corinth to Syracuse; therefore the Sicilian litra, which was struck in silver, was equal to an Æginetan

[49] Thus διακόσιαι, χίλιαι, δισχίλιαι, &c. in the orators and elsewhere. See Taylor ad Marm. Sandwic. p. 29, 30.

[50] See note (A) at the end of the book.

[51] Pollux IX. 76, 86. and the commentators. Hesych. in v. λεπτὰς and παχείᾳ δραχμῇ.

[52] Gell. Noct. Att. I. 8. whether the words ἢ τάλαντον are genuine or interpolated: in the latter case they are a learned interpretation.

[53] Pollux IV. 175. IX. 81.

obolus, according to the statement of Aristotle[54]. Probably the Sicilian nummus was the same as the litra. The accounts of Aristotle[55], who only estimates the nummus at $1\frac{1}{2}$ Attic oboli, and of Festus, who, according to the same proportion, reckons twelve nummi to three denarii (whereas the litra was equal to $1\frac{2}{3}$ Attic oboli), are perhaps inaccurate, although they may come near the real value of the coin, if, as is probable, the Syracusan nummi or litras, of the same weight as the Æginetan oboli, were struck from less fine silver than the Attic drachmas. 24 nummi of this kind composed, according to Aristotle, the old, 12 the new Syracusan or Sicilian talent, which last Festus makes equal to three denarii[56]. According to our supposition therefore, the former was equal to four, and the latter to two Æginetan drachmas; both doubtless, like the decalitron, being coined in silver. Why so small a sum was called a talent, I shall not attempt to decide; remarking only, that by a similar idiom small golden drachmas were called talents[57].

The ancient writers frequently reckon in Euboic talents, which appear to have come into use in the Italian colonies of Magna Græcia, chiefly on account of the spreading of

[54] Pollux IV. 174, 175. IX. 80, 81. cf. Salmas. de Modo Usur. VI. p. 242.

[55] Ap. Polluc. IX. 87.

[56] Pollux IX. 87. Suidas in v. τάλαντον, where, according to the correct observation of Scaliger, νούμμων should be read instead of μνῶν, as well as in the intricate passage of the Scholiast to Gregor. Naz. which Jungermann quotes at the place in Pollux. A small talent of this kind, probably only of 12 nummi, is that which occurs in the account of the Gymnasia of the Tauromenitani in d'Orville's Siculis, and in Castello the Prince of Torremuzza.

[57] See chap. 5.

the Chalcideans, and which for that reason frequently occur in the treaties of the Romans with other nations, as well as in Herodotus, who evidently composed or altered many parts of his History after his migration to Thurii.

In addition to these values, it would be desirable, for the sake of many statements of which we must avail ourselves, to ascertain the amount of the Egyptian and Alexandrian talents; but we here meet with obscure and contradictory statements. The chief difficulty would be removed were the difference between the Egyptian and Alexandrian talents ascertained. According to Varro[58], the Egyptian talent was equal to 80 Roman pounds, and therefore must have been absolutely or nearly identical with the Attic, as the Attic mina was to the Roman pound nearly as four to three[59]. This must have been totally dif-

[58] Ap. Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXIII. 15.

[59] The Roman senate reckoned the Attic talent, or 60 minas, as equal to 80 Roman pounds. Liv. XXXVIII. 38. Polyb. XXII. 26. According to the testimonies of the ancients in Eckhel, D. N. vol. V. part II. p. 6. there were 84 denarii in the Roman pound, and not till the time of Nero, 96. (see Eisenschmid de Pond. et Mens. p. 33.) but the old denarius of Augustus was to the Attic drachma as 8 to 9; consequently $74\frac{2}{3}$, or, in round numbers, 75 drachmas, were equal to a Roman pound. We sometimes read in ancient writers, that a Roman pound was equal in weight to 84 drachmas, which is sufficiently accounted for by the inexactitude of almost all ancient authors, who used drachmas and denarii, on account of their small difference (9 and 8) as convertible terms. According to Romé de l'Isle's accurate researches, founded upon the weighing of golden denarii, the Roman pound weighed 6048 Paris grains: hence the Attic mina must have weighed 8064, whereas, if the tetradrachm is taken at 328 Paris grains, the mina contained 8200. It must however be remembered, that it was assumed that the tetra-

ferent from the talent mentioned by Pollux[60], which was equal to 1500 Attic drachmas, but otherwise, like all talents, was divided similarly to the Attic. This is corroborated by the statement of Hiero, who only assigns a fourth part of the value of the Attic talent to the Ptolemaic, which appears to have been the same as the small Egyptian talent: the very same authority, however, reckons the Ptolemaic mina as the fifth part of the Æginetan, which again does not agree; not to mention, that, in the confusion of language which prevailed at Alexandria in later times, the name of drachma was given to coins of the value of an Athenian obolus. But, according to Festus[61], whose text is so corrupt that no reliance can be placed upon his authority, the Alexandrian talent was equal to 12,000 denarii. The safest way, in my opinion,

drachm had lost four grains by time, which Romé de l'Isle, in computing the weight of the denarius, probably did not take into account; and then it will be found, that the difference nearly vanishes, and Romé de l'Isle's enquiries concerning the Roman pound agree tolerably well with the proportion of the latter to the Attic mina as three to four. It is besides worthy of remark, that Ideler's accurate determination of the Roman foot tallies remarkably with Romé de l'Isle's determination of the pound. See Memoirs of the Berlin Academy of Sciences for 1812 and 1813. Thus perhaps the supposition that the tetradrachms had lost four grains of their weight might be modified (see note *a*, p. 25.), and on the other hand, some grains might be added to the Roman pound over 6048. The supposition of some writers, that the Romans had two different pounds, is entirely unfounded, at least as far as money is concerned.

[60] IX. 86. where the commentators should be consulted upon what immediately follows.

[61] In v. talentum, which passage however appears very uncertain.

is to consider the Alexandrian talent as something less than the Attic, although there were at Alexandria many other talents of less amount, which were used at certain times and for certain purposes. For, according to the assertion of Appian, the Euboic talent was equal to 7000 Alexandrian drachmas[62]; but the Euboic talent, as far as I am able to discover, was only somewhat greater than the Attic; consequently the Alexandrian talent appears to have been to the Attic, nearly as six to seven. As to the Euboic talent, Herodotus[63], if the present reading is correct, reckons that the Babylonian talent contained 70 Euboic minas, Pollux 7000 Attic drachmas[64]. Here then the Attic and Euboic talents are considered as equal. According to Ælian[65] on the contrary, the Babylonian talent contained 72 Attic minas, a statement which is evidently of more weight than the uncertain account of Pollux; and it thence follows, that the Euboic talent was somewhat greater than the Attic. At the same time this statement may not be mathematically accurate; for according to it the Attic talent is to the Euboic as $72\frac{11}{12}$ to 75 (70 to 72), agreeably to Herodotus' computation of the Babylonian talent in Euboic minas. It is probable however, that Solon, when he wished so to change the Attic money, that 100 drachmas should be coined from the same quantity of silver as had formerly been made into 75, intended to make the Attic silver talent equal to the Euboic, which had been for a long time in general circulation. According to this supposition, the Euboic talent would,

[62] Appian, Hist. Sicil. II. 2.
[63] III. 89.
[64] Pollux IX. 86.
[65] Hist. Var. I. 22.

before the time of Solon, have been to the Attic talent in the ratio of 75 to 100. Since however the money of Solon proved actually to be to the ancient Attic money in the ratio of $72\frac{33}{75}$ to 100, strictly speaking, the new Attic silver talent must have been to the Euboic as $72\frac{33}{75}$ to 75, that is, as 70 to $72\frac{6}{25}$: but as, upon an average, the new Attic was to the old Attic talent as 73 to 100[66], in the same manner it might be assumed, that the proportion of the new Attic to the Euboic was, in round numbers, as 73 to 75, which nearly coincides with the ratio obtained from Herodotus and Ælian, of $72\frac{11}{12}$ to 75, or 70 to 72. This method of viewing the subject agrees so well in all its particulars, that it relieves me from the trouble of entering into a more minute investigation of the confused and corrupt passage of Festus upon the Euboic talent[67]. On the other hand, the similarity of the Attic and Euboic talents

[66] See note (A) at the end of the book.

[67] *Euboicum talentum nummo Græco septem millium et quingentorum cistophororum est, nostro quattuor millia denariorum.* Both statements are false. As to the cistophori, they weigh on an average 240 Paris grains, consequently they were less than the Æginetan double-drachmas, and greater than the Corinthian stater. Nevertheless it seems to me probable, that the cistophori were regulated according to one of these two coins, a point which cannot however be explicitly investigated in this place. The weight of the cistophori stated above is not then perhaps sufficiently accurate. I may remark here incidentally, that the account of the Etymologist in v. Εὐβοϊκὸν νόμισμα, which states it to have been named from a place in Argos, where Pheidon first coined gold, is fabulous, for the Euboic standard was too widely spread to have derived its name from thence; and if Pheidon had been the author of it, the Æginetan standard could not have been different from it. That Pheidon coined gold at all is also unquestionably a fable.

seems to be additionally confirmed by the circumstance, that, in the negociations between the Romans and Antiochus, the calculations were at first made in Euboic, and afterwards in Attic talents of 80 Roman pounds[68]: for it is probable, that nearly the same standard of money was retained, as the whole amount might have been diminished, and was in fact diminished, by demanding a less number of talents than before.

(5.) The value of gold is more variable than that of silver, which therefore may be considered as a standard of price for gold as well as for other commodities[69]. In European Greece there were many gold coins in circulation, and more especially belonging to foreign states, of which I will now only mention the most important. Gold, and probably silver, was first coined in Lydia[70], in which country Crœsus caused the stater called by his name to be coined, at a time when Greece was extremely poor in gold. If Polycrates of Samos really deceived the Spartans with false gold coins about the 60th Olympiad, which Herodotus[71] indeed considered an idle tale, the Greeks at that time could have seen but little coined gold; for even the Lacedæmonians would not have been deceived by so clumsy a fraud. Soon after that period, Darius the son of Hystaspes coined darics of the finest gold[72], which passed over into the circulation of Greece. Their

[68] Compare Polyb. XXI. 14. Liv. XXXVII. 45. with Polyb. XXII. 26. Liv. XXXVIII. 38.

[69] It is upon this notion that Xenophon's encomium upon silver (de Vectig. 4.) is evidently founded.

[70] Herod. I. 94.

[71] Herod. III. 56.

[72] Herod. IV. 166. It may be also observed, that there were silver darics. Plutarch. Cim. 10.

weight, which Philip of Macedon, Alexander, and Lysimachus retained, was equal to two Attic drachmas, both according to the testimonies of writers who make them the same as the Attic golden stater, and the ascertained weight of coins now extant[73]; whence their value is fixed by the grammarians at twenty silver drachmas, and five are reckoned to a mina, and 300 to a talent[74], according to the ratio of gold to silver as 10 to 1. That the Athenian golden stater also weighed two drachmas, and was estimated at twenty silver drachmas, is proved by good authorities[75]: according to this value, 5000 staters are in the calculation of Conon's property in Lysias computed at about 100,000 drachmas[76]. But as no undoubted Attic stater has been preserved to our days[77], Eckhel has questioned the fact of it's ever having been coined[78]; not only however does Pollux[79] enumerate the golden stater among

[73] Harpocr. in v. Δαρεικός, and thence Suidas, Schol. Aristoph. Ecclesiaz. 598. Lex. Seg. p. 237. Comp. Barthélemy Mém. de l'Académie des Inscript. vol. XLVII. p. 201, 202. Eckhel. D. N. vol. I. p. XLI.

[74] Harpocr. Schol. Aristoph. and Lex. Seg. ut sup. Xenoph. Anab. I. 8. 14. Harpocration also states in this passage, that the Attic Chrysus was equal to 20 drachmas.

[75] Polemarch. ap. Hesych. Poll. IV. 173.

[76] Lysias pro Aristoph. bonis p. 639. ed. Reiske. The property of Conon amounted, according to this passage, to about 40 talents; and it consisted of 5000 staters, and three other sums of 10,000 drachmas, 3 talents, and 17 talents. If the 5000 staters are reckoned at 100,000 drachmas, the sum is equal to $38\frac{1}{8}$ talents, which agrees perfectly with the expression, "about 40 talents."

[77] See Barthélemy ut sup. p. 206.

[78] D. N. vol. I. p. XLI sqq. vol. II. p. 206, 207.

[79] Poll. IX. 58. [The following passage of Aristophanes ap-

coins upon the authority of Eupolis, but we know with certainty that gold coins were issued at Athens, and more especially in the Archonship of Antigenes, one year before the Frogs of Aristophanes (Olymp. 93. 2.) that money was coined from the golden statues of Victory, which Aristophanes, as they were much debased with copper, calls wretched pieces of copper[80]. The most common golden staters, besides those of Crœsus, Attica, and Persia, were the Phocaic and Cyzicenic, which have likewise been falsely taken for imaginary coins by writers on ancient money. The probable reason why none are extant, is, that the Macedonian kings supplanted all the gold coins of the cities by melting them down, in order that, with the exception of the darics, there should be no gold coin which did not bear their image. The Phocaic stater occurs, both in inscriptions and in writers, as coined money[81]; nor can it

pears decisive. It is from the Plutus (v. 816.) where Carion is describing the sudden increase of wealth caused by the arrival of the god of riches: στατῆρσι δ' ἢ δεξάποντι ἀρτιάζομεν χρυσοῖς.]

[80] Aristoph. Ran. 731. and the scholiast upon the authority of Philochorus, and Suidas in v. χαλκίον. Suidas in v. γλαῦξ ἵπταται, and Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 1091. state, that the Attic gold coins had the device of the owl. This may be very true; but the passages can prove nothing, as in the same writer, as well as in Hesychius in v. Λαύρεια, the mines of Laurion are taken for gold mines, and consequently the owls of Laurion for gold coins, whereas they are silver coins. See my Essay upon the Silver Mines of Laurion, in the Memoirs of the Berlin Academy for 1815.

[81] Στατὴρ Φωκαϊνὸς Demosth. in Bœot. de dote, p. 1019. 15. Φωκαΐτης Thucyd. IV. 52. Two Phocaic staters as a sacred offering in Inscript. 150. (t. I. p. 231. ed. Boeckh.) placed together with other Phocaic coins, can no more be unstamped or imaginary coins, than the Æginetan stater in the same Inscrip-

be supposed, that silver pieces are meant, as the idea of a gold coin is inseparably associated with the name of Phocaic stater. Its weight is unknown; it passed however as the least valuable gold coin [82]. Also, that the Cyzicenic staters were coined money, is proved from many passages of ancient writers. In the oration of Demosthenes against Lacritus, a hundred Cyzicenic staters are expressly mentioned as coined money [83]. The same orator says of Meidias, that he had stolen more than five talents in Cyzicenic staters from the funds of the Paralos [84], where it is impossible that he can mean an imaginary coin. Lysias reckons among his ready money 400 Cyzicenic staters, with 100 darics and three talents of silver; and, according to another passage in the same orator, 30 Cyzicenic staters were actually paid down [85]. The troops in the Pontus, according to the account given in the Anabasis of Xenophon, were sometimes paid in Cyzicenic staters, and at other times in

tion, the false staters in Inscript. 151. (ibid.), and the tetradrachm in Inscript. 139.

[82] Hesych. in v. Φωκαΐς, calls this τὸ κάκιστον χρυσίον, whether staters or parts of staters (perhaps ἕκται Φωκαΐδες, as in Inscript. 150. (ut sup.) are meant. Concerning the Phocaic stater as a coin, see also Pollux IX. 93.

[83] P. 935. 13. ὅτι ἑκατὸν στατῆρες Κυζικηνοὶ περιγένοιντο, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον διδανικὰς εἴη, &c. Χρυσίον and ἀργυρίον in the ancient writers always mean *small*, that is, coined or wrought, gold and silver.

[84] In Mid. p. 570. 15. ὅτι τῆς μὲν Παράλου ταμιεύσας Κυζικηνῶν ἥρπασε πλείω ἢ πέντε τάλαντα. [The author corrects himself in the Addenda, and mentions that the meaning of this passage is not "that Meidias stole more than five talents *in* Cyzicenics, but that he stole more than five talents *from* the Cyzicenians, as is properly remarked by Ulpian."]

[85] In Eratosth. p. 391, in Diogit. p. 894 sqq. cf. p. 903.

darics; these staters are also mentioned as coins in several inscriptions. Hesychius, Suidas, and Photius, also describe the impression of the Cyzicenic stater, which upon one side was a female figure of the mother of the gods, who was worshipped at Sipylus, and upon the reverse, the forepart of a lion; and can it be supposed, that by this any other Cyzicenic stater than the common gold one is meant? Lastly, Demosthenes[86] remarks, that 120 Cyzicenic staters passed in the Bosporus for 3360 Attic drachmas, one for twenty-eight; probably not because their weight was greater than two drachmas, but because the value of gold was then higher in that country, being to silver in the ratio of 14 to 1. Each gold stater probably weighed about two drachmas. Lysimachus and others, however, coined double and quadruple staters[87]; and there were also half pieces of the same coin (ἡμίχρυσοι)[88]. Scaliger[89] considers the Damaretion to have been a half stater, which Damarete, the wife of Gelon and the daughter of Theron, according to Diodorus, caused to be coined about the 75th Olympiad from the crown of a hundred talents, that the Carthaginians presented to her at the conclusion of peace, or, according to Pollux, from the ornaments of the women, which they had surrendered to defray the expences of the war with the Carthaginians[90]. Other learned writers have expressed their astonishment at this supposition; but Scaliger's remark is perfectly accurate; for the Damaretion

[86] In Phorm. p. 914. 11. ὁ δὲ Κυζικηνὸς ἐδύνατο ἐκεῖ εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτὼ δραχμὰς Ἀττικάς: and 13. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι στατήρων γίγνονται τρεῖς χίλιαι τριακόσιαι ἑξήκοντα.

[87] Eckhel D. N. vol. I. p. L.

[88] Poll. VI. 161. IX. 59.

[89] De re numm. p. 13, 17.

[90] Diod. XI. 26. Poll. IX. 85. Schol. Pind. Olymp. II. 29.

was equal in value to ten Attic drachmas, and was thus only half the common stater. The Sicilians called this gold coin Pentecontalitron, from its weight[91], as Diodorus asserts. Since however 50 Sicilian litras were equal to 13 drachmas $5\frac{1}{3}$ oboli of the Attic standard, it is evident that the weight in gold of the Damaretion cannot be meant (which could only be a drachma), but the weight of silver which in Sicily was equal in value to the Damaretion. The Damaretion being equal to 10 Attic drachmas according to the decuple proportion of gold to silver, the Sicilians, among whom gold was probably higher, made it equal to 50 silver litras, at the ratio of $13\frac{8}{9}$ to 1. Golden Æginetan staters likewise occur[92], but nothing is known of their weight.

The meaning of the terms talent and mina, when applied to gold, has been frequently a subject of enquiry. According to Pollux[93], the gold stater was equal in value to a a mina; a statement which seems wholly inexplicable, unless, with Rambach[94], we understand gold coins of eight or ten drachmas in weight, which would certainly agree with the value of a silver mina. But Pollux is speaking with particular reference to the common gold stater of two drachmas in weight; unless then he confuses the entire question, according to some method or other of computing, a weight of two drachmas of gold must have been called a mina. That however, in speaking of gold, an entirely different language must have existed, is probable from the circumstance that the same grammarian in two other places[95] calls three

[91] Ἀπὸ τοῦ σταθμοῦ.

[92] See Inscript. 150. §. 43. tom. I. p. 231. ed. Boeckh.

[93] IX. 57.

[94] On Potter vol. III. p. 169.

[95] IV. 173. IX. 53, 54.

Attic gold staters, or a chrysûs, a talent of gold. The reason which prevents me from receiving the emendation proposed by Salmasius[96] is, that Pollux repeats the same statement twice. I am therefore inclined to follow the opinion of J. F. Gronov[97], that a weight of six drachmas of gold was called a talent, according to an idiom customary upon certain occasions, perhaps, as it has been conjectured, because this was the value of a talent of copper, the ratio of gold to copper being as 1000 to 1. This small gold talent could only have contained three minas, each two drachmas in weight. This supposition is completely established by the fact of the talent of Thyateira being equal to three gold staters[98]; and Eustathius even calls two chrysûs, and Hero of Alexandria one chrysûs, a talent. Probably the goldsmiths reckoned by these small talents; and when we read of golden crowns of many talents in weight, this smaller kind is doubtless intended. Who can believe that the Carthaginians presented to Damarete a crown of a hundred talents of gold[99], if a talent of gold were the usual weight of the silver talent, or even only a portion of gold equal in weight to the value of a silver talent? Are we to suppose, that the inhabitants of the Chersonese would have given a crown of 60 talents to the senate and

[96] Instead of τρεῖς χρυσοῦς (Γ') he writes τριακοσίους or Τ', as 300 chrysûs, according to the decuplé proportion of gold to silver, are equal to a talent of silver. If the text is to be altered, τρισχιλίους might be written for τρεῖς, from which the compendium of the former word is not very different; 3000 gold staters are equal in weight to a talent.

[97] De Pec. Vet. III. 7.

[98] Lex. Seg. p. 306.

[99] Diod. XI. 26.

people of the Athenians[100], if the silver and gold talents were of the same weight? and how vast must the size of such crowns have been? And even if we suppose that 100 talents of gold were equal to 600 gold drachmas, and 60 talents of gold to 360 drachmas, these crowns still remain of considerable weight. Excepting the crown of Jupiter at Tarracona, 15lbs. in weight, and that which the Carthaginians sent to the Capitoline Jupiter in the year of the city 412, of 25lbs. of gold (1875 Attic drachmas), and the immense one in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, of 10,000 gold staters (which, at a festival in the time of that king, was laid upon the throne of Ptolemy Soter), together with another, 80 cubits in length, of gold and precious stones, I find no example of such large crowns as those two were, even if they only weighed 600 and 360 drachmas. In the Acropolis of Athens there were golden crowns of 17½, 18½, of 20, and 25 drachmas or rather more; also another of 26½; four of which the joint weight was 135½ drachmas; one of 29, others of 33, 59, and 85 drachmas. A crown, which the celebrated Lysander sent as a sacred offering to the Parthenon of Athens, weighed 66 drachmas 5 oboli. Two crowns, honorary gifts to Minerva of the Acropolis, weighed, the one 245 drachmas 1½ oboli, the other 272 drachmas 3½ oboli. Another for the same goddess weighed 232 drachmas 5 oboli. A crown, dedicated to the Delphian Apollo at the great festival which was celebrated every fourth year, cost only 1500 drachmas of silver; and consequently, if the workmanship is estimated at the lowest

[100] Demosth. de Corona p. 256. 25. Concerning the crown at Tarracona, see Suetonius in the Life of Galba cap. 12. the gift of the Carthaginians to the Capitoline Jupiter Liv. VII. 38. Concerning the crown of Ptolemy see Athen. V. p. 202. B. D.

possible rate, can hardly have weighed a hundred drachmas of gold [101]. According to these facts then, the talents in which the weight of the Carthaginian and Chersonetan crowns is stated, must have been small talents of six drachmas of gold. Yet there can be no question but that as much gold as was equal to the value of a silver talent, is often called a talent of gold; as also that a quantity of gold weighing 6000 drachmas was known by the same name; which therefore in this case is manifestly independent of any relation to the value of silver [102].

(6.) The usual price of gold can be as well determined from the data already cited, as from other authorities. The most frequent proportion in ancient times appears to have been that of ten to one, as follows from what has been said concerning the stater which weighed two drachmas; and although the lowness of this ratio does at first sight appear surprising, when we consider the scarcity of gold in early times, it must be remembered that the quantity of silver in circulation was very inconsiderable [103]. The

[101] Inscript. 150. §. 13. 141. §. 11. and 139. l. 20. 141. §. 15, 20. 150. §. 16. 141. §. 10. 139. l. 21, 22. 150. §. 14, 15, 12. also 150. §. 40, 10. 151. l. 28, 29. and 145. ed. Boeckh.

[102] Herod. III. 95. Menand. ap. Poll. VI. 76. Polyb. XXII. 15. the latter concerning the mina. The confused passage of Suidas in v. ὀβολὸς, and of Photius, quoted there by Küster, cannot be taken into consideration in reference to the value of the gold talent.

[103] Compare also, on the subject of this proportion, J. F. Gronov. de Pec. Vet. II. 8. the same proportion is given by Hesychius in v. δραχμὴ χρυσίου, according to the correct emendation proposed in the notes, and Suidas in v. δραχμή. In some regions of the East, gold was certainly cheaper: thus Strabo, in the 16th book, speaks of a country near the Sabæi, where gold had only twice the value of silver, and three times the value of brass.

price of gold however gradually rose, partly on account of the proportionally greater increase of silver, until it arrived at ratios similar to those of modern Europe (from 13½ to 1 to 15 to 1), although these experienced occasional variations. When we find so late as in Menander[104] a talent of gold reckoned only equal to ten talents of silver, the price of gold at Athens must either have been depressed at that time by Alexander's campaigns in Asia, which opened the treasures of Persia to the Greeks, or Menander follows the original proportion, which remained in his memory after it had ceased to be actually in force, as it afforded a particularly easy calculation. In the Dialogue upon the desire of gain[105], which formerly, under the name of Hipparchus, passed for the production of Plato, and which certainly belongs to the age of Socrates and Plato, the value of gold is stated at twelve times that of silver; Herodotus however reckons the proportion as thirteen to one[106]; according to the former the chrysûs was equal to 24, according to the latter to 26, drachmas of silver. To conclude from the value of the Damaretion, the proportion of gold to silver in Sicily had risen to 13⅓, although Diodorus, following the ancient custom, estimates the silver value of the Damaretion at the ratio of ten to one. There cannot therefore be much risk of error in assuming that the Cyzicenic stater only weighed two drachmas of gold, but that at a certain period during the life of Demosthenes, it passed in the Bosporus for 28 drachmas of silver, the value of gold in comparison with silver having risen to 14. The price of gold at Rome

[104] Ap. Poll. VI. 76.

[105] P. 40 of my edition.

[106] III. 95.

was still more variable. At the payment of the Ætolians in the year of the city 564, when they were allowed, if they wished it, to pay a third part in gold, the proportion between the two metals was prescribed to them (manifestly to their great disadvantage) at ten to one[107]. In the year of Rome 547, the ratio of gold to silver was as $17\frac{1}{7}$ to 1, afterwards as $13\frac{1}{7}$ to 1. In the time of Cæsar, on account of the great influx of gold out of Gaul, it fell as low as $8\frac{13}{14}$; as at a former period, according to the account of Polybius, its price had fallen for a time in Italy a third part, in consequence of the rapid increase in the quantity of gold from the mines of Aquileia[108]. We also find the ratio of $11\frac{17}{24}$ to 1; and in the 422d year of the Christian era, the ratio of gold to silver had risen to 18[109].

The rise in the price of gold in Greece may have been owing to other causes than the increase in the quantity of silver in circulation. The increasing consumption of gold for ornaments, utensils, and works of art, especially for sacred offerings, would also have contributed to produce that effect. The greater activity of commerce must also have forced up the price of gold; for, from the want of bills of exchange, much ready money was necessarily carried from one place to another, for which purpose gold was the most convenient. The pay of the troops was given out in gold. The military chests therefore required a considerable store, and the demand for gold must have been very considerable during the continual wars. Probably much coined gold passed out of circulation by being accumulated in public

[107] Polyb. XXII. 15. Liv. XXXVIII. 11.

[108] Sueton. Cæs. 54. Polyb. XXXIV. 10.

[109] Upon the price of gold at Rome, see Hamberger *de pretiis rerum* p. 7 sqq.

and private treasuries. Sparta, during a period of several generations, swallowed up large quantities of the precious metals, as in Æsop's fable the footsteps of the animals which went in were to be seen, but never of those which came out[110]. The principal cause of this stagnation probably was, that the State kept the gold and silver in store, and only reissued them for war and foreign enterprizes[111]; although there were instances of private individuals, who amassed treasure contrary to the law. Lysander sent home a thousand, or, according to Diodorus, 1500 talents, 470 at one time[112]. Must we not then suppose that the Spartans stored up large quantities of gold, especially as it was generally used for the payment of the soldiers[113]?

Besides the pure silver and gold, many Grecian States had a coinage, which in other countries was either wholly or nearly devoid of value, and was only destined for the

[110] Plat. Alcib. 2. p. 122. ad fin.

[111] See book IV. 19.

[112] Plutarch. in Nic. 28. Lysand. 16—18. Diod. XIII. 106. who however probably exaggerates, if we are to suppose that this whole sum was sent at once to Sparta after the conquest of Sestos. For the latter fact of the 470 talents, see Xenoph. Hellen. III. 2. 6.

[113] According to Plutarch, most of what Lysander sent was stamped with the device of an owl; he then adds as a conjectural reason, that most money had the Attic device. On the other hand, Corsini *Fast. Att.* vol. II. p. 235. may be consulted: only Plutarch's words are not to be altered, but his statement is either false, or the money which Lysander brought home had not been raised from Athens, but from other States, where Athenian coins were in circulation. Upon the whole, most of the silver which was in circulation had been probably issued from the Athenian mint; and this perhaps is what Plutarch means to say.

internal circulation (νόμισμα ἐπιχώριον). Of this description were all copper and iron coins, the current value of which was raised by public ordinance far above its proper amount. In Athens, with the exception of the smallest coins, no money of this description was ever used, excepting that in the Archonship of Callias (Olymp. 93. 3.) a copper coinage was issued, which was afterwards recalled[114], and some other instances occurred in the times of the Roman emperors. Concerning the prices of copper, tin, and iron in Greece, I have been unable to find any definite statement. With regard to lead, the author of the second book of the Œconomics ascribed to Aristotle, relates that it was generally sold for two drachmas, but that Pythocles counselled the State to obtain the monopoly of this native product of the mines of Laurion, and to sell it for six drachmas. The weight is not mentioned, but the commercial talent (τάλαντον ἐμπορικὸν) is doubtless intended. If we assume that the commercial talent is the talent that was in use before the time of Solon, it is equal in weight to 8280 drachmas of the silver standard, about 93lbs. troy; which therefore commonly sold for nearly 1*s.* 6*d.* and after the proposal of Pythocles for about 4*s.* 5*d.* In Rome a hundred lbs. of common lead, which were only equal to 7500 drachmas, sold for seven denarii[115]; consequently the price was higher than the rate demanded by the Athenian State.

(7.) Next to the quantity of money in circulation, prices depend upon the demand in comparison with the supply; and as the demand is determined by the number of the

[114] See book IV. 19.

[115] Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXIV. 48. I have said, that the lead of Attica came from the mines of Laurion; the proof of this assertion is given in my Essay upon these mines, in the Transactions of the Berl. Acad. of Sciences.

people, it will be necessary to treat of the population. The area of Attica is not easily determined, for only the coasts have been laid down, and not even these with perfect accuracy. According to the map of Barbié du Bocage, which is attached to the Travels of Anacharsis[116], Attica contains 36$\frac{17}{72}$, Salamis 1$\frac{13}{16}$, Helena $\frac{5}{16}$ German geographical square miles, i. e. respectively 579$\frac{7}{9}$, 21$\frac{1}{3}$, and 5, together nearly 606, English geographical square miles. According to the map since published by the same person in 1811[117], which is hitherto the most accurate, Attica contains 39$\frac{1}{16}$, Salamis 1$\frac{5}{8}$, and Helena $\frac{5}{16}$, square miles, or in English miles, 625, 26, and 5, amounting altogether to 656. If then we take the English geographical mile to the statute mile as 4 to 3, the area of Attica and the two islands would upon this computation be about 874 square miles.

To ascertain how this small space was peopled, has engaged the attention of many writers. The early scholars not only assert in general terms that Attica was the most populous of all the Grecian States[118], but they also have given definite accounts which establish the same result. The credibility of these statements has been indeed called into question by Montesquieu[119], Hume[120], and other English and French writers, but has been not unsuccessfully de-

[116] L'Attique, la Mégaride, et partie de l'Isle d'Eubée, 1785.

[117] Carte génerale de la Grèce et d'une grande partie de ses colonies tant en Europe qu'en Asie, pour le voyage du jeune Anacharse, par J. D. Barbié du Bocage commencée en 1798. terminée en 1809. Paris 1811. The calculation of the area after this map has been made for me with great accuracy by Mr. Kloeden, who is well known as skilled in this point.

[118] Meursius de F. A. IV. p. 24.

[119] Esprit des Lois XXXIII. 7.

[120] Essay upon the Populousness of Ancient Nations p. 237 sqq.

fended by others. Of the latter I will mention only Ste. Croix; who with the assistance of his predecessors has treated last and the most at large of this important subject[121], and has also taken into consideration the circumstances which at certain periods produced an increase or diminution in the population; to these however in the following enquiry I shall pay no attention, partly on account of the want of adequate authorities, partly because the object of this work does not admit of my enquiries going so far into details; nor will I animadvert upon the unimportant errors of this learned writer, which have no influence upon the main point. I pass over all attempts to determine the population of Athens from its military force, since the data, which in this case it would be necessary to consider, are in a great measure too general, without any exact distinction between the classes of the citizens, slaves, and resident aliens, and also because in every State the persons incapable of bearing arms form a considerable number; on which account the native military force can only prove that a nation had not fewer inhabitants than this or that definite number, but not accurately how great the whole amount was.

The whole population of Attica would be known, if we could separately ascertain the number of the Citizens, Resident Aliens, and Slaves, together with their wives and children. The largest part of the accounts extant are of the number of the citizens; but they differ widely according to the difference of the periods, and the greater or less accuracy of the statements; but that their number was considerable, may be collected from Xenophon[122], who states

121 Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions tom. XLVIII.

122 Mem. Socrat. III. 5. 2.

that the Athenians were equal in number to all the Bœotians; that is, the citizens of the one country to the citizens of the other. All particular statements, with the exception of one only, which belongs to the most ancient times, vary between twenty and thirty thousand. Philochorus [123] indeed related, that even in the reign of Cecrops 20,000 men had been enumerated, by which the writer probably meant citizens; but this however is manifestly a fabulous tradition, which probably belongs to a later census of the citizens. The following account of Pollux [124] is more worthy of attention. He states that each of the 360 old families, which were included before the time of Cleisthenes in the four ancient tribes, contained 30 persons, whence the families were called τριακάδες; from which it results that the number of citizens was 10,800. If to this it is objected that a determinate number is in such a case impossible, it may be fairly answered, that at some one period, when the constitution of the tribes was regulated, this number was taken as an average, although it did not remain so. In the same manner that the Romans called the captain a centurion, even if he commanded 60 men, a family might have been called a τριακάς, although it contained 50 or more persons. That the number of the citizens amounted to 30,000, was a customary assumption from the time of the Persian to the end of the Peloponnesian war. Herodotus supposes Aristagoras of Miletus to speak of 30,000 Athenians who had the right of voting [125]. Aristophanes

[123] Ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. IX. 68. where the words τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον καὶ τὸ πλῆθος are not opposed to one another, but πλῆθος (whole number of the people) is a more accurate expression.

[124] VIII. 111.

[125] V. 97.

in the Ecclesiazusæ [126], which was written after the Anarchy, speaks even of more than 30,000; and the author of the Axiochus [127] states that the assembly in which the generals were condemned after the victory of Arginusæ, was attended by a greater number than that just mentioned: these accounts however are manifestly over-rated. Aristagoras, to express himself with effect, would not fail to select the highest number; nor need the words of a comic poet be taken so exactly; and the author of the Axiochus probably had seen no accurate returns of the population, which, after the great defeats in Sicily, and a war carried on so long with alternate success, would doubtless have shewn a very different number. Even if we were to assume that in the above enumerations of citizens who voted in the assembly, many were comprised who had not properly any right of voting, but who assumed that privilege unlawfully, still we should never arrive at so high a number as 30,000, especially since all the citizens, even on the most important affairs, never attended the assembly. The accounts which are founded upon real enumerations are of a very different character. On an occasion of a distribution of corn, which, like all other distributions, was made according to the registers of the lexiarchs among the adult citizens of 18 years of age and upwards, a scrutiny was instituted in the Archonship of Lysimachides (Olymp. 83. 4.) into the genuineness of their birth (γνησιότης). There were then found, according to Philochorus, only 14,240 genuine Athenians; and 4760, who had assumed the rights of citizenship unjustly, were in consequence sold as slaves. Previously therefore there were 19,000 persons who passed for citizens. The amount is perhaps stated in too round a

[126] Vs. 1124. [127] Cap. 12.

number to be considered as completely exact. Plutarch, who probably only follows Philochorus, gives 14,040 as genuine, assuming that 5000 were rejected[128]. At the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, besides 13,000 Hoplitæ appointed for service in the field, there were also 16,000 others in Athens, who consisted of the oldest and youngest citizens and a certain number of resident aliens[129]; the number of citizens must therefore at that time have been higher. Whatever vacancies were caused by war and not replaced by a fresh growth, were filled up by the occasional creation of new citizens, as was the case for example during the Archonship of Euclid (Olymp. 94. 2.). Thus in the first speech of Demosthenes against Aristogeiton[130], we find the number of citizens reckoned as nearly 20,000. Plato, in the Critias, assumes the same amount for the most ancient times of

[128] Philochorus ap. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 716. Plutarch. Pericl. 37. [The word in Plutarch is ἐπεράθησαν, for which Mr. Clinton (F. H. p. 52, 390.) reads ἀπηλάθησαν; and in addition to the authorities which he quotes, see Photius in v. ἴφιστις, Bekk. Anecd. p. 201. 17. and p. 439. 32. It appears that each borough enquired into the genuineness of its own members; and that those who were rejected by the votes of the burghers (ἀποψηφισθέντες) lost the rights of citizenship. If they then appealed to the decision of a court of justice, and were a second time rejected, their persons were sold, and their property confiscated.]

[129] Thucyd. II. 13.

[130] P. 785, 24. The spuriousness of the second speech is acknowledged by both ancients and moderns. Dionysius doubts whether the first was the production of Demosthenes; and in Harpocration (in v. θεωρίς) it is quoted with a suspicion of its authenticity. I leave this point undecided, but it certainly belongs to that period. For the usage of ὁμοῦ in the passage referred to, see Hesych. Suid. Harpocr. and Phot. in v. ὁμοῦ.

Athens, in which he has doubtless transferred the number that was commonly computed in his own time to the earliest periods of the State; and the modern Grecian writers, as Libanius for instance, follow the same statement[131]. An occurrence of the same period exactly coincides with the statement in the speech of Demosthenes. When Lycurgus divided the property of Diphilus amounting to 160 talents, each citizen received 50 drachmas, which gives 19,200 for their whole number. The assertion that in the reign of Antipater (Olymp. 114. 2.) Athens contained 21,000 citizens[133], is inadmissible, as being taken from a later enumeration; and Diodorus[134] even goes so far as to suppose that there were 31,000, reckoning 23,000, instead of 12,000 as in Plutarch, who were deprived of the rights of citizenship, and he assumes 9000 as the surplus, agreeing in the latter point with Plutarch. These 12,000 rejected citizens, some of whom had left the country, were restored to their rights in Olymp. 115, 3.[135] Soon after this an enumeration of the people occurs, which is the very one to which the number mentioned in Plutarch of the citizens who remained and were disfranchised in

[131] See Meursius de F. A. IV. According to the interpretation of the Scholiast, the same number of citizens may be inferred from Aristoph. Vesp. 707. it is not however distinctly expressed in the words of Aristophanes.

[132] Lives of the Ten Orators near the end of the Life of Lycurgus. The addition, ἢ ὡς τινες μνᾶν, does not deserve any attention.

[133] Plutarch. Phoc. 28.

[134] XVIII. 18. It appears to me that the passage ought by no means to be altered, as Diodorus so frequently exaggerates numbers.

[135] Diod. XVIII. 66.

the reign of Antipater, was adapted. It was carried on by Demetrius Phalereus when Archon in Olymp. 117. 4.[136] and yielded, according to Ctesicles[137], 21,000 citizens, 10,000 resident aliens, and 400,000 slaves. From this very important statement the whole number of the population of Attica has been variously determined. According to the usual rule of Statistics, the adults have been generally taken as a fourth part of the population. This gave for the citizens 84,000, and for the aliens 40,000. But when they came to the slaves, these calculators fell into an embarrassment; for, according to the same or a somewhat lower proportion, their number came out far above what could be deemed probable. Hume, wishing to shew that the population of ancient times has been greatly overrated, contends with many reasons against this number of slaves, and ends by substituting 40,000 in the place of 400,000, whom he considers as the adults, to which it would be then necessary to add the women and children. But his arguments are partly inconclusive, and partly founded upon false suppositions. Thus all that he says concerning the national wealth of Attica, that it was only equal to 6000 talents, is completely false; and, in the next place, slaves were not computed by adults or fathers of families, which is a term wholly inapplicable to slaves; but they were counted, like sheep or cattle, by the head, and were regarded in the same light with property, as Gillies[138]

[136] This is the right date which Ste. Croix has given, p. 64.

[137] Ap. Athen. VI. p. 272. B.

[138] Essays on the History, Customs, and Character of the Greeks, p. 15. of the German translation of Macher. This translation exceeds its original, which is really difficult, in meanness and vulgarity.

has already observed, for they were in the strictest sense a personal possession. 400,000 is therefore the sum total of the slaves; and the population of Attica would amount, on this supposition, to 524,000 souls. Wallace's computation is higher, for he makes the whole population amount to more than 580,000, and Sainte Croix goes as far as 639,500. The latter writer erroneously adds 100,000 children to the number of slaves, and likewise 4½ and not 4 for every male adult or father of a family, so that the free as well as the slave population is made more numerous. As however this proportion appears to be more correct for southern countries, the citizens with their families may be fairly taken at 94,500, and the resident aliens at 45,000. In order however not to proceed solely upon the period of Demetrius, but upon the mean average of 20,000 citizens, I reckon only 90,000 free inhabitants, and 45,000 resident aliens. With regard to the total amount of slaves, it is stated too much in round numbers for perfect accuracy; the historian doubtless added whatever was wanting to complete the last hundred thousand, although the correct number might not have been so great by several thousands. It will be sufficient to reckon 365,000 slaves together with women and children, which latter however were proportionally few. Adding to these 135,000 free inhabitants, we may take as a mean average of the population 500,000 in round numbers; of whom the larger proportion were men, since fewer female than male slaves were kept, and not many slaves were married.

The proportion of the free inhabitants to the slaves can be consequently taken as 27 to 100, or nearly as one to four. In the American sugar plantations it was as much as one to six. This number of slaves cannot appear too large, if the political circumstances of Attica are taken

into consideration. Even the poorer citizens used to have a slave[139] for the care of their household affairs. In every moderate establishment many were employed for all possible occupations, such as grinders, bakers, cooks, tailors, errand-boys, or to accompany the master and mistress, who seldom went out without an attendant. Any one who was expensive and wished to attract attention, took perhaps three attendants with him[140]. We even hear of philosophers who kept ten slaves[141]. Slaves were also let out as hired servants; they performed all the labour connected with the care of cattle, and agriculture; they were employed in the working of the mines and furnaces; all manual labour and the lower branches of trade were in a great measure carried on by them; large gangs laboured in the numerous workshops, for which Athens was celebrated; and a considerable number were employed in the merchant vessels and the fleet. Not to enumerate many instances of persons who had a smaller number of slaves, Timarchus kept in his workshop eleven or twelve[142]; Demosthenes' father 52 or 53, besides the female slaves in his house[143]; Lysias and Polemarchus 120[144]. Plato expressly remarks that the free inhabitants had frequently 50 slaves, and the rich even more[145]; Philemonides had 300, Hipponicus 600, Nicias 1000 slaves

[139] See for example the beginning of the Plutus of Aristophanes.

[140] Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 958. 14.

[141] Ste. Croix, p. 172.

[142] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 118.

[143] Demosth. in Aphob. A. p. 816. cf. p. 828. 1.

[144] Lysias in Eratosth. p. 395.

[145] De Republ. IX. p. 578, D. E.

in the mines alone [146]. These facts prove the existence of an immense number of slaves. But Hume raises an objection out of Xenophon. Xenophon [147] proposed to the State to buy public slaves for the mines, and particularly mentions how large a revenue the State would receive from them, if it had 10,000 to begin with, remarking at the same time, "that the mines are able to receive many times this number, every body will allow, who remembers how much the slave-duty produced before the occurrences at Decelea." From this statement Hume infers that the number cannot have been so excessive, for that the diminution by the war of Decelea only amounted to 20,000 [148], and the increase of 10,000 does not stand in any considerable proportion to so large a number as 400,000. It must however be considered that after the war of Decelea the Athenians probably ceased to keep many slaves on account of the facility of escape, and that a still greater number than ran away, may have been dismissed. Xenophon himself says that the number had been very great formerly, and he means that their numbers before the war of Decelea prove that the mines, of which alone he is speaking, could afford employment to many times 10,000. At the same time I will not deny that the passage has a very strange appearance, and is obscured by manifold difficulties; but this is the very reason why we should avoid founding any argument upon it [b]. There are two other statements, equally

[146] Xenoph. de Vectig. 4.

[147] Ut sup.

[148] Thucyd. VII. 27.

[b] An important statement contained in a fragment of Hyperides with regard to the slave-population, which has been overlooked by the author, is quoted by Mr. Clinton from Suidas in v. ἀπεψηφίσατο (F. H. p. 391.); where it is mentioned that the

called into question by Hume, which are far more incomprehensible, viz. of Timæus, that Corinth once had possessed 460,000, and of Aristotle, that Ægina had contained 470,000 slaves[149]. Nevertheless the numbers do not appear to be corrupt. That the Corinthians kept a very large number of slaves is proved by the expression *Chœnix-measurers* (χοινικομέτραι) by which they were distinguished, nor is it possible that Ægina before and during the Persian war up to the time of its decline could have been a great commercial town, and have had an extensive naval force, without a large population, and above all many slaves. Its naval dominion, and its powerful resistance against Athens are incompatible with a small population. Why then may we not suppose that 470,000 slaves[c]

slaves employed in the silver mines and in country labour were more than 150,000.

[149] Athen. VI. p. 272. B. D. Schol. Pind. Olymp. VIII. 30.

[c] The size of Ægina which is supposed in the text, was estimated according to the deceitful representation which is given of it in the common maps of Greece. In the mean time a learned pupil of the author, who is at present occupied about a history of that island, has more accurately determined the area, from Gell's map of Argolis at nearly two square miles (forty-two square miles English), whence the possibility of a large population is increased, and the number of slaves is less striking; especially if we assume, as is probable, that Ægina had possessions in early times upon the coast of Argolis.

The person alluded to in this note, which is given from the Addenda, is the celebrated C. O. Müller, who published his Æginetica in 1817, from which work the following words are extracted (p. 5. note). "Sed major fides deberi videtur descriptioni Gellii Angli Argol. lb. 28. ubi ambitus χωρὶς τοῦ κατακολπίσαι ducentorum et decem stadiorum est, spatium vero, quod complectitur, exacte computatum, stadiorum quadratorum 3164." See also pp. 128, 129.

lived upon this small district, being only a German square mile; there still remained sufficient space, as slaves never occupied much room. Ægina received supplies from the countries upon the Black Sea, as well as the Peloponnese[150], and particularly from Corinth. In the mean time it is hardly necessary to remark that this large population of Corinth and Ægina must only be understood of the early times, before Athens had obtained possession of the commerce of Greece and the sovereignty of the sea.

In what manner this population of 500,000 souls in Attica was distributed, cannot be accurately determined. Athens itself contained above 10,000 houses. In general only one family lived in a house, and fourteen free inhabitants were at that time a large number for one house or for one family[151]. Lodging houses (*συνοικίαι*) were however inhabited by several families, and manufactories contained many hundreds of slaves. The district of the mines must also have been very thickly peopled. The circumference of the city together with the sea-ports was equal to 200 stadii. The mines were in a space 60 stadii in width; the other dimension is not known. If 180,000 persons are reckoned for the city and harbours, and 20,000 for the mines, and the space for both taken at 32 square miles English, the number assumed would not be too high. There then remain 300,000 souls for the other 608 square miles, which gives something less than 493½ to a square mile, which with the number of small towns or market-places, villages, and farms that were in Attica, is not to be wondered at. Now this population necessarily required a large supply of provisions. It should

[150] Herod. VII. 147. and thence Polyænus in the Strategics.

[151] Xenoph. Soc. Mem. II. 7. 2.

however be borne in mind, that slaves were badly fed, and above all, that corn alone was requisite for their sustenance. How large a quantity of corn was required, and how the necessary supplies could be procured, I shall endeavour to determine presently.

(8.) All commodities which are necessary for the purposes of life, are procured either by the domestic production and manufacture of the raw material, or by foreign commerce. Attica was not so unsuited for agriculture as is often supposed. The soil was indeed stony and uneven in many places; a great part was bare rock, where nothing could be sown; the less fertile soil however produced barley[152] and wheat, the latter indeed with greater difficulty; and the mildness of the climate allowed all the more valuable products of the earth to ripen the earliest, and to go out of season the latest[153]. Every sort of plant and animal thrived in spite of the poverty of the soil[154]. Art also undoubtedly performed its share; for the ancients in all concerns of common life were possessed of sound principles founded on experience; and at so early a period as the time of Socrates, writings were extant upon agriculture[155]. Agriculture was in as great estimation among the Athenians as with the Romans, if we may judge from the high encomiums of Xenophon and Aristotle[156]. The latter

[152] Thucyd. I. 2. where the commentators quote other passages upon the sterility of the soil. See more particularly the Introduction to Xenophon's Treatise on the Revenues.

[153] Xenoph. ibid.

[154] Plat. Crit. p. 110. E.

[155] See my Preface to the Dialogues of Simon the Socratic Philosopher, p. XIX.

[156] Xenoph. Œcon. 4 sqq. Aristot. Polit. VI. 4. and the first book of the Œconomics attributed to Aristotle, which at least contains the principles of that philosopher.

calls an agricultural people the most just; agriculture is represented as that species of industry, which is most just and conformable to nature; the most just because it does not gain from men, either according to their wills, as in paid labour and commerce, or against their wills, as in war; the most agreeable to nature, because every thing receives nourishment from its mother, and the earth is the mother of men. The ancients also esteemed agriculture, because it made their bodies and minds strong and active, and trained them for service in the field, whereas most kinds of manufactures and commerce weakened and enervated both. The opulent, however, only occupied themselves with the superintendence; and most of the manual labour fell upon the slaves, who were servants, and frequently also stewards, and who unquestionably lessened the expences of cultivation, whatever the moderns may advance against the cheapness of slave labour. Thus the cultivator derived sufficient support from his own farm, and in dear times the agriculturists even grew unduly rich[157]. The most considerable produce was of wine, olives, figs, and honey; wine was probably better in other places; but the oil and honey were particularly excellent[158], the latter especially in the district of the mines[159], and upon mount Hymettus. The figs likewise were very much esteemed. Even now the keeping of the bees is carried on to a considerable extent in Attica. The olive-trees make regular woods, and the wine is considered wholesome[160]. For the protection of this branch of industry, laws were enacted that these pro-

[157] Orat. in Phænipp. p. 1045. 12.

[158] Pseud-Æschin. Epist. 5.

[159] Strab. IX. p. 275.

[160] See Wheler, Chandler, and other travellers. Concerning oil comp. Meursius Fort. Att. chap. X.

ducts should not be diminished, and that one person should not be injured by another in raising them; hence the ordinances of Solon with regard to the keeping of bees[161]; hence, no olive-tree could be rooted up, excepting that each proprietor was allowed to destroy two in each year for public festivals, or for his own use in the case of a death[162]. Many of these products of the soil were exported, although, according to Plutarch[163], Solon prohibited all export of provisions, as might be seen from the first Table of the Laws of Solon; but fortunately this writer afterwards contradicts himself, when in another place he mentions the famous prohibition to export figs as no more than probable[164]. The exportation of oil alone is said to have been permitted by Solon, as Plutarch also remarks, and in this point his testimony is confirmed by examples[165]. As to the prohibition of the export of figs, I am entirely convinced that it did not exist in the times of which we have any certain knowledge. All that occurs in ancient writers upon this subject, only serves to explain the meaning of the term sycophant. Plutarch himself ventures to adopt it at the most for the very early times. If however the ancients had possessed any account of such a law, that could be at all depended upon, they would not speak in so vague and indefinite a manner concerning the origin of this appella-

[161] Petit Leg. Att. V. 1. 6.

[162] Demosth. in Macart. p. 1074.

[163] Solon. 24.

[164] De Curiositate, ad fin.

[165] Plutarch Solon. 2, where Plato is said to carry on a trade in oil; and although it refers to later times, the law of Solon may still have been in force in reference to such cases. Petit *Leg. Att.* V. 5. 1. absurdly limits the permission to export oil to the cruise filled with oil given to the victors in the Panathenaic games.

tion. If a prohibition ever did exist, it certainly was not caused by the reason which is jocularly mentioned by Hume[166], that the Athenians thought their figs too expensive for foreign palates, although Athenæus[167] nearly uses the same expression; but the object of the measure must have been to increase the quantity of figs in the country, while they were as yet very scarce in the most ancient times. This view of the case may be formed from the scholiast upon Plato[168], who dates the origin of the name of sycophant at a period when this fruit was first discovered in Attica, and did not grow in any other country. But the account is far more probable which states that the sacred fig-trees were robbed of their fruit during a famine, and that the wrath of the gods being felt in consequence of this sacrilege, accusations were brought against the suspected[169]. In the same manner persons who injured the sacred olive-trees might be subjected to heavy penalties, of which Lysias in his defence concerning the sacred olive-trees affords a remarkable instance. Here then it would be impossible to understand a prohibition of exportation, which can only exist with regard to articles necessary for the consumption of the community, such for example as corn. The keeping of cattle unquestionably existed to a considerable extent: sheep and goats were the most numerous. From the latter animal one of the four

[166] Ut sup. p. 81.

[167] III. p. 74. E. where see Casaubon. The same writer treats of the Sycophants *ad Theophrast. Char.* 23. cf. Ast ad Plat. de Repub. p. 361. ed. 2. Petit *Leg. Att.* V. 5. 2. does not give any clear account of this point. To the passages quoted by earlier writers Lex. Seg. p. 304. may also be added.

[168] P. 147. Ruhnk. cf. Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 874.

[169] Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 31.

ancient tribes, Ægicoreis, took its name; which from the time of Cleisthenes remained only a borough; of the former there were many different breeds, and particularly of the finest kinds[170]. In order to encourage the keeping of sheep, it was forbidden in a law of extreme antiquity, to kill them before they had lambed or been shorn[171]; but this and similar regulations had been long abolished in the time of Solon. Pigs were also kept, and of larger cattle, asses and mules in tolerable quantities. Horses and horned cattle were evidently scarce in early times. Philochorus[172] mentions a very ancient law which prohibited the killing of horned cattle; and the scarcity of horses is manifest from the early insignificance of the Athenian cavalry, which, after the establishment of the Naucrarias, only amounted to 96 or 100 men, and was not even in existence at the time of the battle of Marathon. Subsequently horses and oxen were kept in sufficient quantities, for which the pastures of Eubœa afforded great facilities. The woodlands for the most part only supplied firewood; the ship-building was carried on with imported timber. The fisheries were productive; the mines, in addition to silver, yielded lead, metallic colours, coloured earths, perhaps also copper; and the products of the Athenian foundaries were particularly esteemed. The quarries of Pentelus and Hymettus furnished the most beautiful

[170] Demosth. in Euerg. et Mnesib. p. 1155. 3. or whoever is the author of this speech, which is called in question by the ancients (see Harpocrat. in v. γημείσην), Athen. XII. p. 540. D.

[171] Androt. ap. Athen. IX. p. 375. C. Philochorus ibid. I. p. 9. C. Other ancient laws to the same effect have been collected by Petit V. 3.

[172] Ap. Athen. IX. p. 375. C.

kinds of marble, which were much exported to foreign parts[173]. Commercial occupations were never in great esteem among the ancient Greeks. No person of ancient nobility ever condescended to them, although conversely a manufacturer might raise himself to the head of public affairs, such as Cleon, Hyperbolus, and others. The early statesmen however encouraged industry, especially Solon, Themistocles, and Pericles, partly with the intention of improving the condition of the lower classes, and partly of increasing the population of the city; as well as of advancing the cause of commerce, and of manning the numerous fleets, by which, after the time of Themistocles, the Athenians held the mastery of the sea[174]. And it was this circumstance that rendered the resident aliens indispensable for Athens[175], who carried on manufactures and

[173] Cf. Xenoph. de Vectig. 1.

[174] Proofs of this occur every where. Diodorus (XI. 43.) in particular expresses himself very clearly with regard to Themistocles.

[175] Xenophon de Rep. Ath. I. 12. The genuineness of this Essay stands and falls with the other Treatise on the State of the Lacedæmonians, which Demetrius the Magnesian (ap. Diog. Laërt. II. 57.) abjudged from Xenophon. But the Essay upon the Revenues of Athens is so similar to those two in style, that it must be included in their condemnation; and it is certainly possible to raise doubts against the latter writing, which however I consider as futile. The predilection for Sparta which predominates in the two first writings, is very like Xenophon, who even in his history is the constant eulogist of the Spartans, and frequently allows his predilections to give a colour to real facts. A certain irony in the tone, which occurs in the Pamphlet upon the State of Athens, is not very much in Xenophon's manner, but it might have been easily produced by particular circumstances and by the nature of his subject. It should be ob-

commerce to a great extent, and were bound to serve in the fleet. It even appears that the useful arts were encouraged by honorary rewards[176]; though even by these means they could not gain in the public estimation. There were prizes for the common people, for which the higher ranks did not compete with them. At the same time the respectable citizens, who had none of the high aristocratical notions, like Pericles, Alcibiades, or Callias the son of Hipponicus, whose pride yielded in nothing to the haughtiness of the modern nobility, were not ashamed of superintending extensive manufactories worked at their own expence. The inferior citizens were as much reduced to the necessity of manual labour as the poor aliens and slaves. It was not until after the balance had been turned

served, that contradictions may be discovered between this writing and the other upon the Revenues; thus in Rep. Ath. 1. 10. the freedom of the aliens is found fault with, whereas in the Treatise on the Revenues (chap. 2.) he recommends favouring them, and lightening their burdens, together with other discrepancies of the same kind: but the difference of the times, objects, and circumstances must be taken into consideration, from which these contradictions are easily accounted for, if Xenophon wrote on the State of Athens during his exile, and on the Revenues after his recal, a short time, as it is asserted, before his death took place at Corinth. The arguments also learnedly brought forward by Schneider concerning the date of his writing, which tend to prove it not to be the production of Xenophon, are not entirely tenable, as I have shewn in book III. 5. At the same time I am willing to allow that the genuineness of this and other short writings of Xenophon is not sufficiently established, and that the Essay on the State of Athens may easily have been written by another author. All I wish to assert is, that the arguments which have as yet been brought against their authenticity, are not sufficient, and that a farther investigation is necessary.

[176] Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 775.

in favour of the aristocracy, that measures of severity were brought forward; as for example, Diophantus proposed that all the manual labourers should be made public slaves[177]. There was again another reason why no restriction should have been imposed upon the freedom of industry, viz. the little importance that was attached to it; an alien was allowed to carry on any trade, although he was prohibited from holding any property in land; with regard indeed to the sale in the market, strangers were on a less advantageous footing than natives, as they were obliged to pay a duty for permission to expose their goods there. The law of Solon that men should not deal in ointments[178] was only founded on principles of education, in order to withdraw men from womanish labours; subsequently however it became a dead letter, for Æschines the philosopher had a manufactory of ointments. With this entire freedom of industry, with the numbers of aliens and slaves, and the possibility of an extensive market by means of foreign commerce, and with the magnitude of the internal demand, which was increased by the resident foreigners, all branches of industry flourished, and Athens contained a large number of manufactories, which employed a corresponding quantity of labourers. Athenian arms and other metallic fabrics, implements and materials for dress and furniture, were in great request; tanners, arm-smiths, lamp-makers, cloth-weavers, even millers and bakers, who understood their art well, lived in abundance[179]. With regard to the prices of commodities, it would be natural to

[177] Petit V. 6. 1.

[178] Petit V. 6. 3.

[179] Only to quote one passage, see Xenoph. Mem. Socr. II. 7. 3—6. With regard to the exportation of manufactured goods, see Wolf ad Leptin. p. 252.

suppose that they must have been proportionally low, as all the labourers, and part even of the overseers were slaves; as the rate of wages was moderate, and there existed a complete freedom of industry; but to counterbalance these causes there was the extensive exportation, which together with the high rate of interest, and the proportionally high profits, that the manufacturers and merchants took, operated to force up the prices of commodities. At the same time many articles, such as bread and clothing, were prepared in most families at home, and not purchased from tradespeople.

(9.) The commodities which Attica did not produce within her own territory, were obtained by foreign commerce, and unless the importation was prevented by some extraordinary obstacle, such for example as war, there could be no danger of a scarcity, even in the case of a failure of the crops, because it consumed the surplus produce of other countries [180]. Although not an island, yet it possessed all the advantages of insular position, that is, excellent harbours conveniently situated, in which it received supplies during all winds; in addition to which it had sufficient facilities for inland traffic: the intercourse with other countries was promoted by the purity of the coin, as the merchant, not being obliged to take a return freight, had the option of carrying out bullion, although Athens abounded in commodities which would meet with a ready sale [181]. For prohibitions to export money were unknown in ancient times, and are only compatible with the use of bills of exchange. If a stagnation in trade was not produced by war or piracy, all the products of foreign countries came to

[180] Cf. Xenoph. de Repub. Ath. 2, 6.
[181] Xenoph. de Vectig. 1. 7. 3, 2.

Athens; and articles which in other places could hardly be obtained singly, were collected together at the Piræeus[182]. Besides the corn, the costly wines, iron, brass, and other objects of commerce which came from all the regions of the Mediterranean, they imported from the coasts of the Black Sea, slaves, timber for ship building, salt-fish, honey, wax, tar, wool, rigging, leather, goat-skins, &c.; from Byzantium, Thrace, and Macedonia, timber, slaves, and salt-fish; also slaves from Thessaly, whither they came from the interior; and carpets and fine wool from Phrygia and Miletus[183]. "All the finest products," says Xenophon[184], "of Sicily, of Italy, Cyprus, Lydia, the Pontus, and the Peloponnese, Athens, by her empire of the sea, is able to collect into one spot:" to this far extended intercourse the same author attributes the mixture of all dialects which prevailed at Athens, and the admission of barbarous words into the language of common life. On the other hand, Athens conveyed to different regions the products of her own soil and labour; in addition to which the Athenian merchants trafficked in commodities which they collected in other countries. Thus they took up wine from the islands and shores of the Ægæan Sea, at Peparethos, Cos, Thasos, Mende, Scione, and elsewhere, and transported it to the Pontus[185]. The trade in books appears alone to have made but small advances in Greece, a branch of industry which was more widely extended in the Roman empire after the reign of Augustus. There was, it is true,

[182] Thucyd. II. 38. Isocrat. Paneg. p. 34. ed. Hall.

[183] Upon most of these points see Barthélemy Anachars. tom. IV. chap. 55. Wolf ad Leptin. p. 252.

[184] De Rep. Ath. 2. 7.

[185] Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 935. 6.

a book market (τὰ βίβλα)[186] at Athens, and books were exported to the Pontus and to Thrace[187]; but there can be no doubt that the books meant were merely blank volumes. The trade in manuscripts was in the time of Plato so little common, that Hermodorus, who sold the books of this writer in Sicily, gave occasion to a proverb, "Hermodorus carries on trade with writings[188]:" at a subsequent period, while Zeno the Stoic was still a youth, dealers in manuscripts are mentioned as having been at Athens[189]. The merchant-vessels appear to have been of considerable size; not to quote an extraordinary instance, we find in Demosthenes[190] a vessel of this kind, which besides the cargo, the slaves, and the ship's-crew, carried 300 free inhabitants.

Athens had many regulations for the protection of trade, and for the maintenance of the commercial police. Among the officers belonging to this branch of the public service we may mention the Overseers of the Harbour (ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ ἐμπορίου), ten men annually appointed by lot[191]; the Agoranomi, five in the city and as many in the Piræeus[192]; the Metronomi, who had the inspection of the measures, ten in the city and five in the Piræeus[193]; and the Pro-

[186] Poll. IX. 47. and the commentators.

[187] Xenoph. Cyr. Exped. VII. 5. 14. and the commentators.

[188] Cicer. Epist. ad Attic. XIII. 21. Zenob. and Suid. in v. λόγοισιν Ἑρμόδωρος ἐμπορεύεται.

[189] Diog. Laërt. in Vit. Zenonis.

[190] In Phorm. p. 910. 12.

[191] Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 941. 15. Orat. in Theocrin. p. 1324. 10. Dinarch. in Aristog. p. 81, 82. Lex. Seg. p. 255. and what Sigonius IV. 3. has upon the Constitution of Athens.

[192] Aristot. ap. Harpocrat. in v. ἀγορανόμοι, &c.

[193] The passage in Harpocration is as follows: ἦσαν δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν πεντεκαίδεκα, εἷς μὲν τὸν Πειραῖα δέκα, πέντε δ' εἰς ἄστυ. I read

metretæ, probably subordinate to the latter officers, who measured corn and other grain for hire [194]. Upon the whole there was sufficient attention paid to weights and measures; as may in part be seen from a valuable fragment of a decree upon this subject, which has fortunately come down to our days [195]. Credit was at a low ebb in Greece, although we find that there were large firms in all the different Grecian states, which were possessed of extensive credit, and were able to raise money on the single security of their name [196]. Merchants belonging to particular cities, as the Phaselitans for example, were in bad repute on account of their want of honesty. The absence

it the contrary way, εἰς μὲν τὸν Πειραῖα πέντε, δέκα δ' εἰς ἄστυ. The same correction should be made in Suidas in v. μετρονόμοι and in Photius. For what Meursius and Küster say upon the passage in Suidas is highly absurd. There were therefore ten Sitophylaces in the city and five in the Piræeus: see below chap. 15. Both divisions must necessarily have been closely connected, and for this reason the similarity of the number is also probable. In addition to this, the merchants were obliged to bring two thirds of the corn from the harbour into the city, which fact agrees completely with my emendation. The Lex. Seg. p. 278. certainly has in v. μετρονόμοι, δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὧν πέντε μὲν ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ, πέντε δ' ἐν ἄστει, together with Photius in the first article. But although it might appear more natural that their number should agree with that of the Agoranomi, and seem singular that there should have been ten in the city and five in the Piræeus, this very circumstance makes it more credible that my hypothesis is true, and that the statement in the Lex. Seg. is the arbitrary alteration of a grammarian according to what appeared to him the most natural. A different account is given by Kühn *ad Poll.* IV. 167.

[194] Harpocrat. in v. προμετρηταὶ, Lex. Seg. p. 290. &c.

[195] See Inscript. 123. tom. I. p. 164. ed. Boeckh.

[196] Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1224. 3.

of credit was supplied by security or bail [197]; which, according to the laws of Athens, was in force for one year [198]. The severity of the laws relating to debtors contributed materially to the support of credit, for the Athenians knew well how important these laws were to commerce and industry [199]. "In the Athenian laws," says Demosthenes, "there are many excellent protections for the creditor; for commerce proceeds not from the borrower but from the lender; without whose assistance no vessel, no captain, no passenger can stir." Even a citizen, who in the capacity of a merchant, withdrew from a creditor a pledge for a sum vested in bottomry, could be punished with loss of life [200]. No less severe were the regulations against false accusers of merchants and captains of vessels [201]. Their disputes were heard before the commercial court of the Nautodicæ, where the Thesmothetæ introduced the causes [202]; in law-suits between citizens of different nations, by virtue of a particular agreement there existed an appeal from one state to the other [203]. As early as in the time of Lysias, the Nautodicæ, having been appointed to their office by lot, assembled in the month

[197] Demosth. in Lacrit. init.

[198] Demosth. in Apatur. p. 901. 7.

[199] Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 958.

[200] Demosth. in Phorm. p. 922. Dilatory debtors were also liable to imprisonment, only however in commercial cases. See Hudtwalker *von den Diäteten*, p. 152 sq.

[201] Orat. in Theocrin. p. 1324, 1325. cf. inf. III. 10.

[202] For the sake of brevity I refer to Sigonius R. A. IV. 3. Petit V. 5. 9. Matthiä Misc. Philol. vol. I. p. 247. The Lex. Seg. also has an article upon this subject, as well as Photius p. 212. It is worthy of remark that the γραφὴ ξενίας could also be brought before this court.

[203] These are the δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων.

Gamelion, in order to sit during the winter, when navigation ceased [204], that the merchants and captains of vessels might not be impeded in the pursuit of their business. Advantageous as this regulation was, it did not obviate all the inconveniences to which traders were liable; for if the cause was not decided in the course of the winter, either the parties were obliged to prosecute it in summer to the prejudice of their business, or the case stood over till the following winter, and was heard before other judges. For this reason Xenophon proposed to establish a prize for the officer of the harbour who should pronounce the most rapid and just decisions of commercial causes [205]; and in fact soon afterwards in the time of Philip [206] this evil was checked by the introduction of the monthly suits (ἔμμηνοι δίκαι), to which all causes concerning trade, Eranus, dowries, and mines belonged [207]. These were heard in the six winter months, so that the merchants might quickly obtain their rights and set sail [208]; and a cause could not, as some have supposed, be protracted through this whole time, but it was necessary that it should be decided within the term of a month [209]. Lastly, the Greeks tolerated a species of consul in the person of the Proxenus of each state, who was considered as the representative of his

[204] Lysias περὶ δημοσ. ἀδικ. p. 593.

[205] De Vectig. 3.

[206] Vid. Orat. de Haloneso. p. 79.-18. sqq.

[207] Poll. VIII. 63, 101. Suidas in v. ἔμμηνοι δίκαι from Harpocr. in the same word, Lex. Seg. p. 237. That this is true of causes relating to mines, I have shewn in my Essay upon the silver mines of Laurion.

[208] Demosth. in Apatur. p. 900. 3. cf. p. 966. 17. Petit V. 5. 9.

[209] Vid. Orat. de Haloneso, Lex. Seg. and Petit. ut sup. Salmas. de M. U. XVI. p. 691.

country, and was bound to receive the citizens who traded at the place. If for example an inhabitant of Heraclea died at any place, the Proxenus of Heraclea was by virtue of his office obliged to give information concerning the property which he left behind him[210]. If an inhabitant of Heraclea died at Argos, the Proxenus of Heraclea received his property[211].

Among the many proposals for the advancement of commerce which Xenophon makes in his Treatise upon the Revenues, there is no where an exhortation to restore the freedom of trade: either this was not one of the points which lay within the knowledge of antiquity; or it must have existed without any limit. The latter supposition is nearly maintained by Heeren[212]: "they were ignorant," says he, "of a balance of trade, and thus all the violent measures that flow from it naturally remained unknown. They had custom-duties as well as ourselves; but their only object was to increase the revenues of the state, and not as with modern nations, by prohibiting this or that article to give a particular direction to the course of industry. You will find no prohibition to export raw produce, no encouragement of manufactures at the cost of the agricultural classes. In this sense then there was a complete freedom of industry, of commerce, and of intercourse. And this was not the result of accident, but was founded upon principle. At the same time, where every thing was determined according to circumstances, not according to theory, persons may find individual exceptions, perhaps discover particular cases in which the

[210] Demosth. in Callipp. p. 1237. 16.

[211] Ibid. p. 1238. 27.

[212] *Ideen über die Politik, den Verkehr und den Handel der Alten Welt*, vol. III. p. 283.

state may for a time have assumed to itself a monopoly. But yet what a wide difference is there between this and our mercantile and compulsory system." I am ready to acknowledge that there is a great deal of truth in these remarks; but the other side of the question must also be considered. According to the principles of the ancients, which were not merely scientific, but were recognised by the whole of the people, and deeply rooted in the nature of the Greeks, the state embraced and governed all dealings between man and man. Not in Crete and Lacedæmon alone, two states completely closed up and from their position unsusceptible of free trade, but generally throughout the whole of Greece, and even under the free and republican government of Athens, the poorest as well as the richest citizen was convinced that the state had the right of claiming the whole property of every individual: any restriction in the transfer of this property, regulated according to circumstances, was looked upon as just; nor could it properly be considered an infringement of justice, before the security of persons and property was held to be the sole object of government; a light under which it never was viewed by any of the ancients. On the contrary, all intercourse and commerce were considered as being under the direction of the community, inasmuch as they originally owed their existence to the establishment of a regular political union: and upon the same basis was founded the right of the state to regulate trade, or even to participate in the profits of it. Any person who dissented from these principles was not a member of the state, and would by the bare avowal be considered as detaching himself from it. It was upon the same principle that the national monopolies were founded, which do not appear to have been unfrequent in Greece, although of short

duration; their productiveness had been tried in the cases of private individuals who had obtained them by engrossing particular articles[213]. It can however be safely asserted, that no republic ever demanded of its citizens that they should furnish commodities to the state in specified quantities and at prices arbitrarily fixed at a low rate, with a view to secure to itself a monopoly; such a demand could only have been enforced in countries under the government of a tyrant. The monopoly of lead, which Pythocles proposed to the Athenians, injured no proprietor of mines, provided it was exported: the producers were to receive the same price from the state, at which they had before sold it[214]. Equally innocent was the banking monopoly which the Byzantians in a pecuniary embarrassment sold to a private individual[215]. The proceeding of the Selymbriani in a similar difficulty was probably less defensible, who seized the whole stock of corn at a fixed price, with the exception of a quantity sufficient for the yearly consumption of each individual, and then sold it at a higher price with permission to export, which before had not been granted[216]. Yet after all how many kinds of monopolies may there have been in Greece! Probably it was then a principle in politics, that states should avail themselves of these aids when under the pressure of pecuniary distresses[217]. In addition to this there are abundant proofs that the exportation and importation were regulated according to the exigencies and interests of

[213] Cf. Arist. Pol. I. 7.

[214] See above, chap. 6.

[215] See the second book of the Œconomics attributed to Aristotle.

[216] Ibid.

[217] Cf. Arist. Pol. I. 11.

the state; which is by no means consistent with perfect freedom of trade. Aristotle[218] lays down five principles of policy as the most important, viz. finance, peace and war, the safeguard of the country, importation and exportation, and legislation; mentioning at the same time that "with regard to importation and exportation, it is necessary to know how large a supply of provisions the state requires, and what proportion of them can be produced in the country and what imported, and what imports and exports are necessary for the state, in order that commercial treaties and agreements may be concluded with those of whom the state must make use for this purpose." Trade was thus an object of national policy; whence various restrictions or preferences must necessarily have arisen. Solon is related by Plutarch to have laid the exportation of all products of the soil except oil, under a malediction, which the Archon was obliged to pronounce or to pay a fine of a hundred drachmas[219]: although the law was not in my opinion so general as here stated[220], yet the main fact is unquestionable; and, considering the liberal disposition of Solon, is the more remarkable. The export of corn was always prohibited in Attica[221]. Similar laws doubtless existed in other states, for example the Selymbriani prohibited the exportation of corn, if not always, at least in time of scarcity[222]. There were also at Athens many commodities of which the exportation was prohibited (ἀπόρρητα), such as timber, tar, wax, rigging,

[218] Rhetor. I. 4.
[219] Plutarch. Sol. 24.
[220] See above, chap. 8.
[221] Ulpian. ad Demosth. in Timocr, p. 822.
[222] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. II. 17.

and leathern bottles, articles which were particularly important for the building and equipment of the fleet[223]. It may indeed be supposed that this prohibition only existed against the Peloponnesians during the continuance of war[224]; but how often did Greece enjoy the blessings of peace? and even in the time of Theophrastus, the exportation of timber, i. e. of timber for ship-building, was still prohibited, being only allowed to particular individuals free of duty[225]. It is obvious that war was necessarily attended with certain restrictions and limitations; for example the manufactories of arms at Athens supplied the consumption of many nations; it was natural therefore that laws should be directed against those who provided the enemy with arms; thus Timarchus decreed, that whoever furnished Philip either with arms or tackle for ships should be punished with death[226]. But in addition to these restrictions, even the importation of some commodities was occasionally prohibited in time of war; as for example of Bœotian lamp-wicks, of which the real reason is not, as Casaubon concluded from the jokes of Aristophanes[227], that the Athenians were afraid of these lamp-wicks causing a conflagration, but that all commodities imported from

[223] Upon this point see Aristoph. Ran. 365. 367. and the Scholiast, Spanheim upon this passage, and Casaubon ad Theophrast. Char. 23. Concerning the leathern bottles (ἀσκώματα) comp. besides the Scholiast of Aristophanes, the Etymologist, Suidas, and Thomas Magister in v. θύλακος.

[224] Which one should also be led to suppose from Aristophanes and his Scholiast ut sup. and from Aristoph. Eq. 278.

[225] Theophrast. Char. 23.

[226] Demosth. de fals. Leg. p. 433. 4. See the note to Petit's Leg. Att. p. 517. ed. Wessel.

[227] Aristoph. Acharn. 916. and the Scholiast, Casaubon ut sup.

Bœotia were excluded, for the purpose of harassing this country by a stoppage of all intercourse, as indeed may be seen from another passage in the play just alluded to[228]. In like manner Pericles, according to the Acharnenses of the same poet[229], and the testimonies of many other writers, had excluded the Megarians from all intercourse with Attica, in order to oppress them. Upon the whole, war was as much carried on by impeding commerce as by force of arms, and by her dominion of the sea Athens obtained the means of exercising a continual despotism over trade. "No state," observes Xenophon, "can ever export any thing, if it is not submissive to the masters of the sea; upon them depends all the exportation of the surplus produce of other nations[230]." They laid an embargo upon all vessels, seized, and detained or captured merchant-vessels, even such as the State had no right to interfere with; and to recover by a decree of the court of captures the goods which had been unlawfully lost, was a matter of extreme

[228] Acharn. 860 sqq.

[229] See more particularly the argument to this Play, Thucyd. I. 139. Plutarch. Pericl. 30. Diod. XII. 39 sqq.

[230] Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. II. 3. 11, 12. The words *πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄλλοσε ἄγειν οὐκ ἐάσουσιν, οἵτινες ἀντίπαλοι ἡμῖν εἰσὶν, ἢ οὐ χρήσονται τῇ θαλάττῃ*, are extremely difficult to understand, and certainly have not been understood by the commentators; but yet they do not appear corrupt. The sense is, "The States, from which we receive imports, will not permit our adversaries to export for their own use the materials necessary for ship building, or they will lose by that means the use of the sea." The subject to *ἐάσουσιν* and *χρήσονται* is *ἐκεῖνοι*, which refers to the preceding *παρὰ μὲν τοῦ, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ*. The words *οἵτινες ἀντίπαλοι ἡμῖν εἰσὶν* are to be taken instead of the accusative to *ἄγειν*, just as if it stood *πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ ἐάσουσιν ἄλλοσε ἄγειν τοὺς ἡμῖν ἀντιπάλους, ἢ οὐ χρήσονται τῇ θαλάττῃ*.

difficulty. That these measures of the Athenians produced the greatest hatred against them, cannot excite surprize. Even the Spartans made a protest against the Megarian decree; its non-repeal was the immediate pretext of the Peloponnesian war. These examples, although not applicable to a state of peace, prove at least, that the Athenians did not avoid any restriction of commerce, so long as it appeared profitable to them; and from this it may be fairly concluded that at times when there was a cessation from war, they provided for their real or supposed interests by various regulations which were inconsistent with freedom of trade. Their object was to frame compulsory laws for the purpose of forcing the supply of those commodities which were necessary for the consumption of the country; or which should be brought to the market in the port of Athens, in order to be there sold, that by these means Athens might become a general emporium. Some of these regulations are extraordinarily severe. No inhabitant was allowed to carry corn any where but to the harbour of Athens; those who violated this law were subject to a Phasis or an Eisangelia[231]. In the same manner it was fixed what portion of the corn of each cargo which had arrived in harbour, should be retained in the city of Athens, as will be presently shewn. There was also an exceedingly oppressive regulation, that no Athenian or alien resident in Attica should lend money upon a vessel which did not return to Athens with a cargo of corn or other commodities[232]. If indeed we listen to Salma-

[231] See chap. 15.

[232] Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 941. 9—20. from the Law, Ἀργύριον δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἐκδοῦναι Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν μετοίκων τῶν Ἀθήνησι μετοικούντων μηδενὶ, μηδὲ ὧν οὗτοι κύριοί εἰσιν, εἰς ναῦν ἥτις ἂν μὴ μέλλῃ ἄξειν σῖτον

sius[233], this law refers only to the corn trade, and means no more than that it was not permitted to lend money for the purpose of buying corn in other countries, except upon the condition that the corn should be imported into Athens: this supposition is however manifestly devoid of foundation. The meaning of the law is, that money could not be lent upon any ship which did not return to Athens with corn; but if these were all the provisions of the law, no money could have been vested in bottomry at all, except upon vessels employed in the corn trade. Since then this supposition leads to an absurdity, it is manifest that we do not possess the law in a complete state. And this in fact is sufficiently pointed out in the speech of Demosthenes against Lacritus; and corn, as being the most important article, was only first and expressly named. In several places it is distinctly stated, that it was not lawful to lend money which was to be sent to any foreign port, without corn being particularly specified[234]. In the agreement of bottomry given in the speech of Demosthenes against Lacritus (to which case the law exactly applies), it is not fixed that either corn or any thing else should be

Ἀθήναζε, καὶ τἄλλα τὰ γεγραμμένα περὶ ἑκάστου αὐτῶν. The last words shew that many other specific provisions followed which the Orator omits, and in these no doubt the other commodities were either individually or generally stated.

[233] De M. U. V. p. 193 sqq.

[234] In Lacrit. ut sup. καὶ δίκη αὐτῷ μὴ ἔστω περὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου, ὃ ἂν ἐκδῷ ἄλλοσέ πη ἢ Ἀθήναζε. Demosth. in Dionysodor. p. 1284. 15. ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δανείσαιμεν εἰς ἕτερον ἐμπόριον οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ εἰς Ἀθήνας. The passage in the speech against Lacritus p. 941. 15. ἐὰν δέ τις ἐκδῷ παρὰ ταῦτ', εἶναι τὴν φάσιν καὶ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν τοῦ ἀργυρίου πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιμελητάς, καθὰ περὶ τῆς νεὼς καὶ τοῦ σίτου εἴρηται, κατὰ ταῦτα, proves nothing against my assertion for many reasons.

taken as a return-cargo; and the debtor himself affirmed that he had intended to return to Athens with a cargo of salt meat and Coan wine[235]; nor in any similar document is the species of the commodities ever fixed which are to be taken as a return-cargo, but the only stipulations we find are with regard to the security, and that the return-cargo should be of equal value with the original freight. Lastly, how could it have been possible to specify the goods, which were to be taken up as a return-cargo, since the merchant would necessarily be guided in his selection by the state of the market, and no certain calculation could be made beforehand? We must therefore allow, that, in general, money could not be lent at Athens upon any ship or upon its cargo, except on the condition of its returning to that city, in order that no Athenian property might be employed to the profit of a foreign trading-town. This is not inconsistent with the permission to lend money only for the time requisite for the voyage to a particular place, without including the return (ἑτερόπλους). If the master of a vessel had borrowed money for the time of his voyage from Athens to Rhodes, and instead of not paying the money till he returned to Athens, if he was obliged to repay it immediately upon his arrival at Rhodes, it does not follow from this that he was not compelled to return; by law he was bound to do so, just as much as if the money had been lent him until his return to Athens. The sole difference is, that in the former case the creditor was only exposed to the risk of the passage outwards, in the latter of the passage inwards as well[236]. Money too could only

[235] P. 933. 15.

[236] To this view of the subject the passage in Demosth. in Dionysod. p. 1284. 8—20. cannot be opposed, for if rightly

be lent for the time of the passage outwards, upon the condition of the vessel returning to Athens: it was only absolutely prohibited, when the ship was not to return. It should also be remembered, that heavy punishments were laid upon the violation of this law. As to the laws relating to money lent out on other kinds of security, no complaint could be made. Those who failed to pay could be prosecuted by a Phasis[237]; and the borrower, if he did not return, could be punished with loss of life[238]. If the Athenians imposed such restrictions upon trade, it may be conceived how the laws of other states were constituted. In Ægina and Argos Athenian manufactures appear to have been in early times prohibited, although upon a pretended religious motive, and on the immediate occasion for sacred purposes[239]. In the inland traffic too there was not by any means unrestricted freedom; nor indeed could it exist under the established principles of the ancients, among whom the police mixed itself with every thing, although the mode

understood it completely agrees with it. Dionysodorus and Parmeniscus wish to borrow money for the voyage from Athens to Egypt, and from thence to Rhodes; it is therefore a ἐπιδόπλους without any obligation to return, to which the lenders naturally would not consent. Compare also upon the questions relating to this subject book I. chap. 23. The space does not permit me to be more explicit upon this question, nor will persons acquainted with such subjects desire more: but to satisfy a certain class of readers, who expect every thing to be related *ab ovo*, and to be supported with passages explained at full length, is no easy matter, as we must not suppose that they have any previous knowledge of the question.

[237] Demosth. in Lacrit. ut sup.

[238] Demosth. in Dionysod. p. 1295. 8 sqq. as the context shews.

[239] Herod. V. 88.

of its interference differed from that which now prevails in modern States. Assize-regulations were not unknown. In the time of Aristophanes the government of Athens on one occasion reduced the price of salt to a fixed rate; which however was not long retained, probably because it caused a deficiency in the supply of that article[240]. In corn we certainly find a great freedom of prices. Yet the ruinous operation of engrossing was restrained within certain limits. Retail-dealing in the market was originally interdicted to foreigners according to the rigour of the law; instances however occur of its being permitted upon the payment of a duty, which is different from the protection-money of the resident aliens[241]. What is here said must not however be referred to the wholesale trade in the harbour; this in a great measure owed its existence to foreigners, who exposed samples of their goods at a particular place called Deigma[242], for the convenience of the buyers who came there from all regions to purchase commodities.

The prices of commodities could not however have been much enhanced by these restrictions, especially as the custom-duties were very moderate; but they were raised by the great profit which the merchants took. That the rate of profits was high, is sufficiently proved by the high rate of interest on money lent upon bottomry (*fenus*

[240] Aristoph. Eccl. 809. and the Scholiast.

[241] Demosth. in Eubulid. p. 1308. 9. p. 1309. 5. where this is called ξωνικὰ τελεῖν.

[242] Lysias Fragm. p. 31. Aristoph. Eq. 975. and Schol. Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 932. 20. in Polycl. p. 1214. 18. Harpoc. in v. δεῖγμα, Poll. IX. 34. and there Jungermann. cf. Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. 23. also Lex. Seg. p. 237. The Deigma at Rhodes is mentioned by Polybius V. 69. The specimens themselves were also called Deigma, Plutarch. Demosth. 23.

nauticum), in which 30 per cent for one summer was not unfrequently paid. Hume's remark[243], that a high rate of interest and profit is an infallible sign, that industry and trade are still in their infancy, applies with the greatest force to the ancient times of the Grecian nations, and in some measure to that of Pericles, and the period immediately succeeding. A Samian ship, which, as Herodotus[244] relates, had by accident made its way from Egypt to Tartessus in Iberia, at a time when no Grecians, not even the Phocæans, traded there, gained upon one cargo 60 talents; since the tithe to the goddess Juno amounted to six talents: probably it had received silver at a low rate in exchange for the goods carried out[245]. Greek merchants had never made a greater profit, with the exception only of Sostratus of Ægina, with whom no one could in this respect enter into comparison. With regard however to the value of the cargo of the Samian ship, it is clear that it cannot now be ascertained, as the quantity of goods on board different vessels was very various; we find instances of cargoes which did not exceed two talents in value; but larger sums are met with, as for example, a ship of Naucratis mentioned in Demosthenes was valued at nine and a half talents[246]. In the time of Lysias also, an Athenian vessel is said to have paid so large an interest upon a sum of two talents, that it doubled the principal[247]. It is of course evident that the retail-traders (κάπηλοι) obtained likewise a very large profit on the goods which

[243] Essays, p. 222.
[244] Herod. IV. 152.
[245] Compare what Diodorus V. 35. says of the Phœnicians.
[246] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 696. and passim.
[247] Lysias in Diogit. p. 908.

they sold, if we take into consideration the high rate of interest.

(10.) If allowance is made for accidental variation in different places, it may be stated that in the ancient world the necessaries of life were upon the whole cheaper than at the present time, but in individual cases examples enough of the contrary occur. The chief reasons of the former phenomenon are the smaller quantity of money in circulation, the unusual fruitfulness of the southern regions in which the Greeks either dwelt or traded—regions, which although now neglected, were at that period in a state of the highest cultivation—and the impossibility of exportation to distant lands, which had little or no intercourse with the countries upon the Mediterranean. The latter is in particular the cause of the great cheapness of wine. The abundant quantity of this article which was produced in almost all the southern regions, was not distributed over so large a space of the earth as is the case at present. It is to be observed however, that in considering the general scale of prices in ancient States, the difference of time and place must be well weighed. In Rome and in Athens, at the most flourishing periods of these States, commodities were not so cheap as in upper Italy and Lusitania. In upper Italy, even in the time of Polybius[248], the Sicilian medimnus of wheat, which was the same as the Attic, being somewhat less than 1½ English bushels, frequently sold for only four oboli (eight asses), i. e. about sixpence, the medimnus of barley for half this sum, the metretes of

[248] Polyb. I. 15. Polybius has changed the asses into oboli, reckoning two asses to an obolus, and the denarius equal to the drachma. He thus takes the Roman coins a small fraction too high.

wine, about ten wine-gallons, for the same price as the barley! Travellers used not, as in other places, to agree with the innkeepers for the price of each article, but only stipulated how much they should give in the gross for the whole consumption of an individual, and the sum demanded was generally a half as or quarter obolus, and seldom exceeded this rate. In Lusitania, according to the same historian[249], the Sicilian medimnus of barley cost a drachma, of wheat nine Alexandrian oboli, which appear to have been something less than the Attic[250]; the metretes of wine the same as the barley; a kid of moderate size an obolus, a hare the same, a lamb three and four oboli, a fat pig, weighing a hundred minas, five oboli, a sheep two, a draught ox ten, a calf five drachmas, a talent of figs, about 56lbs, three oboli; game had hardly any value, but was included gratis in other bargains. Such low prices as these do not apply to Athens after the Persian war. In the time of Solon, indeed, an ox cost only five drachmas, a sheep one drachma, and a medimnus of corn the same sum: but prices gradually rose to five times, in many things to as much as ten or twenty times, their former amount, which after the examples of more recent times does not seem surprising. The quantity of money in use was not only increased, but through a rising population and an extended intercourse its circulation was accelerated. Thus Athens, as early as in the age of Socrates, was considered an expensive place of residence[251]. Upon the whole, the cheapness of commodities in ancient

[249] XXXIV. 8. 7. Concerning the reading see Schweighæuser in the Lexicon Polyb. p. 555.

[250] See above, chap. 4.

[251] Plutarch. de Anim. Tranquill. 10.

times has been exaggerated by some writers, who thought that the nearest approach would be made to the truth by assuming that prices were on an average ten times lower than in the eighteenth century[252]; whereas the prices of corn, by which many other prices are necessarily regulated, prove the contrary. But that a more determinate judgment may be passed upon this subject, I will explicitly treat of each in their order of the prices of immoveables; of slaves, of cattle, corn, bread, wine, oil, and other necessaries of life, and also of wood, clothing, and the different sorts of implements and furniture, as far as I have been able to find information upon these points.

(11.) The value of the cultivated land in Attica was naturally very different according to its situation and goodness. The estates in the vicinity of the city bore a much higher price than those at a distance[253]; the wooded land (γῆ πεφυτευμένη) must have been dearer than the bare or unplanted land (γῆ ψιλή) as it was called, the rich and good than the poor soils. Among the many passages upon the value of land one alone contains an approximate statement of the area, and this without any particulars as to situation and quality. Aristophanes, according to the account of Lysias[254], had bought a house for five minas and 300 plethra of land, both together cost him more than five talents. If we assume that it cost him five talents and twenty minas, and subtract from this sum the value of the house, there remain for the land 27,000 drachmas, which

[252] Gillies ut sup. p. 19. Wolf makes the same supposition with regard to a charitable institution of Trajan, p. 6.

[253] Xenoph. de Vectig. 4.

[254] Orat. pro Aristoph. bonis p. 633. and p. 642. where for οὐσίαν read with Markland οἰκίαν.

gives 90 drachmas for one plethron. Now the plethron was equal to 10,000 feet of Greek square measure, 9620 Rheinland, or 9900 English feet, according to Ideler's researches. The English acre of 43,560 square feet would thus have cost 396 drachmas; which does not by any means agree with the exaggerated notion above alluded to, that prices were ten times lower in ancient than in modern times. It is however by no means improbable that much land bore a lower value; but 50 drachmas may be fairly assumed as the average price of the plethron, without taking into consideration accidental circumstances by which the value of the land might be lowered. It should also be mentioned that in Attica the land was probably divided into portions of no very great extent. Alcibiades' paternal inheritance did not amount to more than the estate purchased by Aristophanes, although his was one of the most distinguished families. It was not until the time of Demosthenes that individuals purchased much landed property. The most extensive possessions were those which commonly went by the name of boundary-estates (ἐσχατιαί), which were situated at a distance either upon the seashore or at the foot of the mountains[255]. Thus the boundary-estate of Timarchus in Sphettus is stated to have been extensive, but it had run wild through his neglect[256]. The estate belonging to Phænippus in Cy-

[255] Harpoc. in v. ἐσχατιά. Schol. ad Æschin. in Timarch. p. 736, 737. ed. Reisk. Lex. Seg. p. 256. and the Commentators upon Æschines and Demosthenes in the passages to be quoted. Herodotus also (VI. 127.) calls distant estates ἐσχατιαί. The supposition that the estates on the boundaries of the boroughs were so called is undoubtedly false, not to mention that many boroughs were bounded by the sea and by mountains.

[256] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 117, 119.

theron contained more than 40 stadii or 1440 plethra[257]. Of other estates I have noted down the following prices. An estate situated in Sphettus is mentioned in Lysias as being worth five minas; another occurs in Isæus worth above ten minas, and in the former orator an estate in Cicynna is estimated by the creditor at ten minas[258]. In like manner in Terence[259], an estate is stated to be mortgaged for the latter sum. Timarchus sold an estate in Alopecæ, distant eleven or twelve stadii from the walls, under its value for 20 minas[260]. Again, an estate is mentioned in Prospalta, which was hardly worth 30 minas[261], and one in Œnoë for 50 minas[262]. An estate of Ciron's was, according to the expression of Isæus, well worth a talent: whence we may conclude that an estate no larger than this was thought a considerable possession; an estate of the same value occurs in Demosthenes, which appears to have contained vineyards[263]. The following sums are still more considerable, viz. 70 minas, and 75 minas for an estate in Athmonon, two talents for a property in Eleusis, and two and half talents for the same in Thria[264]. Concerning other kinds of landed property I have been unable to obtain any information, except that mine-shares were

[257] Orat. in Phænipp. p. 1040. 15.

[258] Lysias περὶ δημοσ. ἀδικ. p. 594. cf. p. 593, 595. Isæus de Menecl. Hered. p. 221. ed. Orell.

[259] Phorm. IV. 3. 56.

[260] Æsch. in Timarch. p. 119.

[261] Isæus de Hagn. Hered. p. 298.

[262] Is. ut sup. p. 294.

[263] Is. de Ciron. Hered. p. 218. Demosth. in Onet. I. p. 872. ad fin. II. p. 876. 10. cf. I. p. 871. 22.

[264] Isæus de Menecl. Hered. p. 220, 221. ed. Orell. de Philoctem. Hered. p. 140. de Hagn. Hered. p. 292 sqq.

sold for a talent and 90 minas, although their price was at times enhanced by particular circumstances[265].

(12.) With regard to houses, we know that Athens contained above 10,000[266]; which probably does not include the public edifices and the buildings without the walls; the city and the harbour being nearly 200 stadii in circumference, there were many places within so large an area upon which no buildings were erected[267]. The houses were for the most part small and mean in appearance, the streets crooked and narrow; "a stranger," says Dicæarchus, "might doubt upon a sudden view whether this were really the city of Athens;" the Piræeus alone had been laid out according to rule, in the time of Themistocles, by the architect Hippodamus[268]. The upper stories often projected over the streets; staircases, balustrades, and doors opening outwards, obstructed and narrowed the way. Themistocles and Aristides, with the entire co-operation of the Areopagus, gained nothing more by their endeavours than that a stop was put to any farther narrowing of the streets by building, a measure which was adhered to in later times[269]. The plan of Hippias and Iphicrates for breaking down every thing that projected into the public streets[270] was not carried into execution, because their object was not the embellishment of the city, but to obtain money by fraudulent means. With the ex-

[265] See my Essay upon the Silver-mines of Laurion.

[266] Xenoph. Mem. Socrat. III. 6. 14. To this Xenoph. Œcon. 8. 22. is also referred; but not with any certainty.

[267] Xenoph. de Vectig. 2.

[268] Dicæarchus p. 8. and Aristot. Polit. VI. 2. VII. 11. and the Commentators.

[269] Heraclid. Pont. and Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. 3.

[270] See Meursius F. A. p. 20.

ception of the magnificent public edifices, they did not begin to build good houses until the time of Demosthenes. "Formerly," says this orator[271], "no individual raised himself above the multitude. If any one of us could now see the houses of Themistocles, Aristides, Miltiades, Cimon, or the famous men of those days, he would perceive that they were not more magnificent than the houses of ordinary persons; while the buildings of the State are of such number and magnitude that they cannot be surpassed:" and afterwards he complains that the statesmen of his time constructed houses which exceeded the public buildings in magnificence. Meidias built a house in Eleusis larger than any in that place[272]. The greater number of houses were however even at this time badly built, as Photion's[273], for example; and, like those of Pompeii and Herculaneum, they occupied only a limited space, for which reason their price could not have been high. Labour was cheap, there was stone in plenty, and wood could be easily brought to the place of building; and another circumstance which diminished the price of houses was, that they were for the most part either built with a frame-work, or of unburnt bricks dried in the open air, which latter mode of building, as being more durable than with soft stones, was sometimes employed in splendid and costly edifices[274]. An advantageous situation and the

[271] Demosth. in Aristocrat. p. 689. 11—24. Olynth. III. p. 35. 14—24. p. 36. 20. from both of which the passage in the Oration περὶ συντάξεως p. 174-5. is composed. For the whole speech has been correctly abjudged from Demosthenes.

[272] Demosth. in Mid. p. 565. 24.

[273] Plut. Phoc. 18.

[274] That the private buildings of the Athenians were constructed of bricks of unburnt clay is in part proved by Demo-

customary high rate of house-rent, might however raise the value of houses. It was also of course possible for large sums of money to be expended by foolish and extravagant speculations upon an useless house[275]. It should be observed that the Attic language distinguishes between dwelling-houses (οἰκίαι), and lodging-houses (συνοικίαι); accidentally indeed a dwelling-house might be let out for lodgings, and a lodging-house have been inhabited by the proprietor himself; which will explain how learned writers could fall into the error of supposing that the latter word (συνοικία), frequently means a house in general without any addition of the idea of letting; whereas the derivation of the word plainly shews that it expresses a dwelling together of several families, of whom either some or all are lodgers.

The prices of houses, which are mentioned in the ancient writers, vary from three minas to 120, according to their size, situation, and condition. The data are as follows; a small house estimated by Isæus at less than three minas, though he probably depreciates its value; a house at Eleusis worth five minas, mentioned by the same orator[276]; a very small house near the temple of Hermes Psithyristes at Athens, sold for seven minas, according to another orator[277]; another house which was pledged for ten minas, according to Demosthenes, a possession belonging to poor people, as is evident from their inconsiderable

sthenes ap. Plutarch. in Vit. Demosth. 11. For the rest see Hirt *Baukunst der Alten* p. 143.

[275] Xenoph. Œcon. 3. 1.

[276] Isæus de Menecl. Hered. p. 221. ed. Orell. de Hagn. Hered. p. 293.

[277] Orat. in Neær. p. 1358. 6—9.

dowry of 40 minas, and from other circumstances[278]; to these may be added a house noticed in Terence which is mortgaged for the same sum, a poet who generally represents the usages and customs of Athens[279]; a dwelling-house in the city, worth 20 minas, mentioned by Isæus[280]; a lodging-house in the country mortgaged for sixteen minas, in Demosthenes[281]; a house in the city that had been let, worth 20 minas, in Isæus[282], and several houses of the same value in Demosthenes and Æschines[283], one of them behind the Acropolis; a house sold for thirty minas, and another of the same value in Isæus and Demosthenes[284], the former in Melite; a lodging-house in the Cerameicus, worth 40 minas, given as a dowry, in Isæus; another in the city transferred for the sum of 44 minas, in the same orator[285]; likewise one for 50 minas in Isæus and Lysias[286]; a lodging-house belonging to the rich merchant Pasion, valued at a hundred minas[287]; and, lastly, in Plautus a house purchased for two talents, having two wooden columns connected with it, valued, exclusively

[278] Demosth. in Spud. p. 1029. 20. cf. p. 1032. 21. p. 1033. 26.

[279] Phorm. IV. 3. 58.

[280] De Ciron. Hered. p. 219.

[281] In Nicostrat. p. 1250. 18.

[282] Ut sup.

[283] Demosth. in Onetor. II. p. 876. 9. and passim. Æsch. in Timarch. p 119.

[284] Isæus de Hagn. Hered. p. 293. Demosth. in Aphob. I. p. 816. 21.

[285] De Dicæog. Hered. p. 104. de Philoctem. Hered. p. 140.

[286] Is. de Dicæog. Hered. p. 105. Lys. pro Aristoph. bonis p. 633.

[287] Demosth. in Stephan. I. p. 1110. 8.

of the cost of the carriage, at three minas[288]. To these may be added 30 minas, the value of a bathing house at Serangium in the Piræeus[289]; and another of which the value may be fairly estimated at 40 minas, as the person, who was cast in a law-suit on the occasion, was compelled to pay that sum for it[290].

(13.) The market-price of slaves, exclusively of the variations caused by the greater or less demand and supply[291], was very different according to their age, health, strength, beauty, natural abilities, mechanical ingenuity, and moral qualities. Some slaves, says Xenophon[292], are well worth two minas, others hardly half a mina; many sold for five or ten minas, and Nicias the son of Niceratus is stated to have given no less than a talent for an overseer in the mines. The slaves employed in the mills and mines were undoubtedly the lowest. Lucian, in the ludicrous valuation of the philosophers[293], estimates Socrates at two talents, a Peripatetic at twenty, Chrysippus at twelve, a Pythagorean at ten, and Dion of Syracuse at two minas, and, to omit the value of Diogenes, reckons Philon the Sceptic at a mina, remarking at the same time that he was destined for the

[288] Mostell. III. 1. 113 sqq. III. 2. 138. I omit other passages which do not refer to Athens, such as that in the spurious Epistle of Æschines, 9.

[289] Is. de Philoct. Sorte, p. 140. Compare also Harpocration in v. Σηράγγιον.

[290] Isæus de Dicæog. Hered. p. 101.

[291] Such for example, as those paid for the Carthaginian soldiers, according to Liv. XXI. 41.

[292] Mem. Socrat. II. 3. 2.

[293] Βίων πρᾶσις 27.

mill; the latter therefore is evidently the price of a slave employed in the mills. "Assuming," observes Xenophon, "that the Athenian State[294] purchases 1200 slaves, and lets them out on hire into the mines for a daily payment of one obolus a head, and that the whole revenue accruing from this source is annually applied to the purchase of fresh slaves, who should again be let out at a like profit, which receipts should be applied as before, and so on for ever, the State would by means of these successive returns have 6000 slaves in five or six years." If, as I believe, the original 1200 are comprehended in this number, the price is here taken at from 125 to 150 drachmas; if they are not comprised in the estimate, which appears to me improbable, a slave in the mines would be only reckoned at from 100 to 125 drachmas. According to the account of Demosthenes[295], 105 minas were lent upon the security of a mine, and 30 slaves employed in working it; this was arranged by a fictitious purchase made by two creditors, one of whom, Nicobulus, gave 40 minas, the other, Euergus, a talent; the latter held the mine, the former the slaves as a pledge, which they were to cede as soon as the contract of purchase ceased to be in force[296]; consequently each slave was in this case estimated at 150 drachmas: nor could a slave of this description in general have been worth more, although the antagonists of Demosthenes' client maintain that the mines and slaves together were worth a much larger sum[297]. The statement of Barthélemy[298], who

[294] De Vectig. 4. 23.

[295] In Pantænet. p. 967.

[296] See p. 967. 18. and p. 972. 21.

[297] For the sake of brevity I refer the reader to my Essay on the Silver-mines of Laurion.

[298] Anachars. tom. V. p. 35.

supposes that the value of the mine-slaves varied from 300 to 600 drachmas, rests upon an erroneous assumption. Ordinary house-slaves, both male and female, could not have been worth much more than those just mentioned[299]. The valuation of two slaves, each at two and a half minas, is considered in the works of Demosthenes[300] as high; in the same author we read of a slave who was sold for two minas[301]. Demosthenes' father was possessed of workers of iron or sword-cutlers, some of whom were worth five, some six, and the lowest more than three minas, and twenty chair-makers, together worth 40 minas. The chair-makers with the 32 or 33 sword-makers, including a capital of a talent, are stated at four talents 50 minas[302]. But when in another place the same orator reckons 14 sword-cutlers (although they might have been of advanced age), together with 30 minas, at only 70 minas[303], and consequently each at 71 drachmas, he is manifestly guilty of an intentional falsehood. How great an influence a knowledge of any art had upon the value of the slave is shewn by this

[299] Upon this point compare the unsatisfactory statements in Aristoph. Plut. 147. Isæus de Ciron. Hered. p. 218—220.

[300] In Nicost. p. 1246. 7. The author afterwards states in the Addenda, that "he had considered the estimate of two slaves at 2½ minas as high, because from the words τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀπογραφῆς he assumed a high valuation; and that therefore the words of the Orator must be interpreted as if each of the two slaves was estimated at that sum; but that since μέγεθος might also be understood of a less amount, and as the context, although very obscure, seems to require this meaning, it might be preferable to suppose that the two slaves were together valued at 2½ minas."

[301] In Spud. p. 1030. 8.

[302] Demosth. in Aphob. I. p. 816. 5.

[303] Cf. Demosth. in Aphob. p. 815. p. 817. 23. and p. 821.

example of the sword-cutlers; for the higher profit they afforded the greater was their value. While a slave in the mines only yielded a profit of an obolus a day, a worker in leather produced two, and the master of the workshop three oboli[304]; from whence it can be judged how large may have been the profit which the manufacturers of fine ornamental goods, such as head-nets (σακχυφάνται) or of stuffs of Amorgus and variegated clothes (ποικιλταὶ), yielded to their possessors[305]. Five minas, which we found above to have been given for slaves skilled in some art, appear moreover not to have been at all uncommon[306], as is shewn by an account in Diogenes[307]. The Roman soldiers whom Hannibal had sold in Achaia, were ransomed

[304] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 118.

[305] Concerning the σακχυφάνται see Demosth. in Olympiod. p. 1170. 27. Pollux X. 192. The interpretation given in Lex. Seg. p. 302. is incorrect. For the other points cf. Æsch. ut sup. Concerning the ποικιλτὴς, afterwards called πλουμάριος (*plumarius*, see Muratori Inscript. vol. II. p. DCCCCVI. 13. and again p. DCCCCXXIV. 11. together with his Dissertation de Textrina in the Ant. Ital.), Poll. VII. 34, 35. and the Commentators, Schol. Æsch. p. 730. ed. Reiske, and Lex. Seg. p. 295.

[306] It might also be supposed that the price of five minas for slaves at the oars (κωπεῖς) was mentioned in Andocides *de suo Reditu* p. 81. if in that passage we write πέντε μνῶν for πέντε δραχμῶν: for what Reiske (Ind. Andoc. Orat. Att. tom. VIII. p. 503.) infers from this passage, *Remigis erat ingens pretium quinque drachmæ*, will not mislead any reader. Κωπεὺς however does not mean a rower, but a piece of wood for an oar, as may be easily seen by a comparison of the passages, where it was supposed to mean a rower. Of these is the passage in Andocides, where the context clearly shews, that pieces of wood for oars, and not slaves for the oars, are intended: and a piece of wood of this description was probably well paid for at five drachmas.

[307] Vol. II. in the Life of Aristippus.

at a compensation of five minas each, the price having been fixed by the Achæans themselves, and the State paid it to their respective possessors[308]. These statements agree for the most part with the prices which were paid for some slaves sold to the Delphian Apollo, upon the condition that the individuals who thus became sacred property should in all other respects be free, and ever after be exempt from serving any person as slaves. In instruments of sale belonging to this kind of transfer we find four minas paid for a male, from three to five for a female[309]; yet in a sale which took place at Amphissa to the temple of Apollo not less than 1000 drachmas are given for a male slave. Plautus appears, as is frequently the case with the comic poets, to make a high estimate, when he values a strong useful slave at twenty minas, and supposes a child to be sold for six minas[310]. The father of Theocrines was condemned to pay to the State a fine of 500 drachmas for having attempted to emancipate a female slave of Cephisodorus. The sum paid to the State for an offence of this nature was, according to law, the half of the complete fine,

[308] 1200 cost the State a hundred talents according to Polybius, Liv. XXXIV. 50. This was in Olymp. 146. 1. in the year of the city 558.

[309] Chandler Inscript. II. 154. cf. Muratori p. DXCIII. also Chandler II. 150, 151, 152, 153, 155. and Chandler Marm. Oxon. II. XXIX. 2. The sacred slaves, ἱερόδουλοι, were of this description, as e. g. the Venerii at Eryx in Sicily, the female servants of Venus at Corinth, the Hieroduli of Comana upon the Pontus, which the priests could no more sell to another person, than the Thessalian could sell their bondsmen the Penestæ, or the Spartans their Helots out of the country. Cf. Strab. XII. p. 384.

[310] Captiv. II. 2, 103. V. 2, 21. 4, 15.

the other half went to the injured master; and it is probable that this was a simple compensation for the loss sustained, so that the female slave appears to have been valued at five minas[311]. For women who prostituted their persons, and female players on the cithara, 20 or 30 minas occur as common prices[312]. Neæra was sold for 30 minas[313]. A negro-woman and an old eunuch are sold in a play of Terence for 20 minas[314]. Even these prices were still farther enhanced by luxury; and although at Athens an excellent slave could be bought for ten minas, the price at Rome in the time of Columella exceeded even this amount[315], in the same manner that the value of negro-slaves has at the present day considerably increased: as early as in the age of the first Ptolemies, an Alexandrian talent was the price given for the males and females who attended at court[316]. The ransom-money for captives was only in part regulated by the price of slaves. This may be seen from the fact that the Chalcideans, who before the Persian war remained prisoners in Athens, were ransomed at two minas a head[317]; at which sum subsequently the indigent

311 Orat. in Theocrin. p. 1327. 1328. see book III. 12.

312 Terent. Adelph. II. 1. 37. 2. 15. IV. 7. 24. and elsewhere, Plaut. Mostellar. in several places, Curcul. I. 1. 63. II. 3, 65. and passim, Terent. Phorm. III. 3. 24. Isocrat. περὶ ἀντιδόσεως p. 124. ed. Orell.

313 Orat. in Neær. p. 1354. 16.

314 Terent. Eunuch. I. 2. 89. In V. 5. 13. he inaccurately says that the eunuch cost the same sum. The negress appears to have been worth but little, cf. III. 2. 18.

315 Hamberger de pretiis rerum, p. 32. Cf. Jugler de Nundin. Serv. 7. p. 85 sqq.

316 Joseph. Antiq. Jud. XII. 4.

317 Herod. V. 77.

citizens of Potidæa were valued, and paid taxes for it as for property of the same amount. Again, Dionysius the elder, after he had conquered the Rhegini, first compelled them to make good the expences of the war, and then demanded for each man a ransom of three minas, or, according to Diodorus, one mina[318]; Hannibal also agreed to ransom the Roman prisoners at three minas a head; and finally, in the time of Philip, when there were many Athenian prisoners in Macedonia, the customary ransom varied from three to five minas[319]. But since it frequently happened that not only the respectability and character of a man, but also his wealth and importance, were taken into consideration, a higher rate of ransom was in such cases arbitrarily fixed. Nicostratus, as appears in a speech attributed to Demosthenes[320], was forced to ransom himself for 26 minas; Plato was freed from captivity by Anniceris for 20 or 30 minas; with which sum, the friends of the Philosopher having raised the money for the ransom and given it to Anniceris, the latter purchased him a garden adjoining the Academy[321]. Philip affirms in his Epistle to the Athenians[322] that the Attic general Diopeithes had refused to ransom Amphilochus, a man of consideration, who was employed upon embassies, for less than fifteen talents.

[318] The former according to the second book of the Œconomics attributed to Aristotle, from which the account of Diodorus XIV. 111. disagrees in several points. The date of this occurrence is Olymp. 98. 2.

[319] Polyb. VI. 56. Demosth. de fals. Leg. p. 394. 13.

[320] In Nicostrat. p. 1248. 23.

[321] Diog. Laert. III. 21. Plutarch. de Exilio 10. Seneca Epist. 74. Macrob. Sat. I. 11. The account of Diodorus XV. 7. is, as usual, confused.

[322] Demosth. p. 159. 15.

Hence in order to prevent any arbitrary proceedings, Demetrius Poliorcetes concluded an agreement with the Rhodians that the free inhabitants should be ransomed for ten and the slaves for five minas[323]. The rights of possession with regard to slaves in no way differed from any other property; they could be given or taken as pledges[324]. They laboured either on their master's account or their own, in consideration of a certain sum to be paid to the master, or they were let out on hire either for the mines, or any other kinds of labour, and even for other persons' workshops, or as hired servants for wages (ἀποφορά)[325]: a similar payment was also exacted by the masters from their slaves serving in the fleet. The profits derived from the slaves must necessarily have been very great; for the possessor must have replaced his outlay of capital and ensured the usual high rate of interest, exactly in the same manner as if it had been vested in cattle, since the value of slaves was destroyed by age, and at their death the money vested in them was lost. To this must be added the great danger of their elopement, especially when there was war in the country, and they were with the armies[326]; it then became necessary to pursue them, and offer rewards publicly for their recapture (σῶ-

[323] Diod. XX. 84.

[324] Demosth. in Pantæne. p. 967. in Aphob. p. 821. 12. p. 822. in Onetor. I. p. 871. 11.

[325] Demosth. in Nicostrat. p. 1253. 1, 11. in Aphob. I. p. 819. 26. Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. 1. in several places, particularly in chap. 11. which passage (as corrected by Heindorf) appears chiefly to refer to the pay of the sailors; Theoph. Char. 22. Andoc. de Myst. p. 19.

[326] Thucyd. VII. 27. and VII. 13.

στρα)[327]. The idea of an institution for the insurance of slaves first occurred to a Macedonian grandee, Antigenes of Rhodes, who undertook for a yearly contribution of eight drachmas for each slave that was in the army, to make good his price, as estimated by the owner at the time of elopement; which he was easily able to do, by compelling the governors either to return the slaves who had fled into their provinces, or to pay for them[328]. It cannot however be determined with any accuracy how high was the rate of profit which a slave returned. The thirty-two or thirty-three iron-workers or sword-cutlers belonging to Demosthenes, annually produced a net profit of 30, and the twenty chair-makers of 12 minas; the value of the former being 190, of the latter 40 minas[329], the latter produced 30, the former only $15\frac{15}{19}$ per cent, a disparity sufficiently remarkable. It is however to be mentioned, that the master furnished the raw materials for manufacturing, and perhaps we ought to consider what he gained upon the raw materials as constituting a part of the whole profit. The leather-workers of Timarchus produced to their master two, the overseer three oboli a day, but probably this return is not to be considered as arising only from the capital vested in the slaves, as it must have also included the profit which the master derived from the supply of the raw materials. Hence it may be concluded that when mine-slaves let out to a tenant yielded to their master a profit of an obolus a day, which, reckoning 350 working days and an average value of 140 drachmas,

[327] Plat. Protag. init. Xenoph. Mem. Socr. II. 10. 2.

[328] See Pseud-Arist. Œcon. II. 2. 34. Antigenes for Antimenes is a correction of Niebuhr.

[329] Demosth. in Aphob. I. p. 816.

gives 47½ per cent, the rent thus paid extended not only to the slaves, but also to the mines let out with them; an inference which I have supported with other arguments elsewhere [330].

(14.) Among domestic animals, horses were in Attica sold for comparatively high prices, not only on account of their utility and the difficulty of keeping them, but from the disposition of the Athenians to extravagance and display: while the knights kept expensive horses for military service and processions at the festivals, and while men of ambition and high rank trained them for the games and races, there arose, particularly among the young men, an excessive passion for horses; of which Aristophanes gives an example in the Clouds, and which is recorded by several ancient writers [331]; so that many were impoverished by keeping horses, although it is true that others were enriched by the same means [332]. In early times also technical principles had been laid down concerning the management of horses, and rules of this kind had been published before the time of Xenophon by Simon a celebrated rider [333]. The price of a common horse, such as a countryman used, was three minas. "By keeping horses," says the client of Isæus [334], "you have not squandered your property, for never were you in possession of a horse which was worth more than three minas." But a good saddle-horse, or a horse for running in chariot-races, ac-

[330] Essay on the Mines of Laurion.

[331] Cf. Xenoph. de re Equestri, I. 12. Terent. Andr. I. 1. Bach ad Xenoph. Œcon. 2. 6. &c.

[332] Xenoph. Œcon. 3. 8. Many ancient writers speak of καθιπποτροφεῖν.

[333] Xenoph. de re Equestri, and see Schneider's note.

[334] De Dicæog. Hered. p. 116.

81539

cording to Aristophanes, cost twelve minas; and since this sum is lent upon a horse in pawn, it must have been a common price[335]. But fashion or fancy for horses raised their price beyond all limits. Thus thirteen talents were given for Bucephalus[336]. A yoke of mules, probably two animals, and not particularly good ones, but only destined for the ordinary purposes of country work, were sold for five and a half and also for eight minas[337]. Asses were probably much cheaper in proportion; yet besides the ludicrous story of Lucian[338] that the ass Lucius, when no purchaser could be found for him, was at last disposed of to an itinerary priest of the Syrian goddess for the sum of 30 drachmas, I have been unable to meet with any thing upon this point in reference to Greece, and even this passage proves nothing with respect to the usual price in ancient times, and particularly in Attica. With regard to the prices of cattle, I am at a loss to guess whence an English writer could have derived the statement that an ox in the time of Socrates cost eight shillings; an assertion which is contradicted by the concurrent testimony of all writers who mention the subject. If indeed two drachmas were paid for an ox at the Delian Theoria[339], I will not deny that in the most ancient times this price may have existed; but of later times it is inconceivable, and the most that can be allowed is, that in the distribution of the prizes, which were merely a matter of honour, this primitive standard may have been retained. In Athens,

335 Aristoph. Nub. 20, 1226. Lysias κατηγ. κακολ. p. 306 sq.

336 Chares ap. Gell. Noct. Att. V. 2.

337 Isæus de Philoct. Hered. p. 140.

338 Asin. 35.

339 Pollux IX, 61. where the Commentators question the fact.

at the time of Solon, an ox, probably one selected as a victim, was sold for five drachmas, five times as much as a sheep[340]; in Lusitania, according to Polybius, for ten drachmas, and a sheep in like manner a fifth of this sum; in Rome, the price of an ox was ten times that of a sheep[341]. If therefore in the flourishing times of Athens a sheep, as will be presently shewn, cost from ten to twenty drachmas, according to its age, breed, and the variation in the market price, an ox may be reckoned at from 50 to 100 drachmas. In Olymp. 92. 3. 5114 drachmas were paid for a hecatomb, and if we suppose that nearly 100 oxen were purchased for it, the price of an ox amounted to about 51 drachmas. But in Olymp. 101. 3. a hecatomb of 109 oxen cost 8419 drachmas, that is 77¼ drachmas a head; in both cases oxen selected for victims are meant[342]. Probably also in other countries except Athens, prices were not much lower at this period; in Sicily, which abounded with cattle, in the time of Epicharmus the price was the same as at Athens in the days of Solon. For a fine calf, according to that comic poet, was sold for ten nummi[343], or two drachmas 4⅔ oboli of Attic money[344]; and since it may be inferred from the analogy of the prices in Lusitania, that the value of a full-grown ox was double, it is probable that at that time in Sicily, an ox of similar

[340] Plutarch. Solon. 23. from Demetrius Phalereus.

[341] Hamberger in the Treatise above quoted. Taylor ad Marm. Sandw. p. 37.

[342] See the second Prytaneia of the Choiseuil Inscription, and Barthélemy in the Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, vol. XLVIII. p. 355. also Inscript. 158. tom. I. p. 252. ed. Boeckh. cf. Taylor. ad Marm. Sandw. p. 36.

[343] Ap. Poll. IX. 80.

[344] According to the assumption in chap. 4.

quality might have sold for twenty nummi, or five drachmas 3½ oboli of Attic money. A sucking pig was sold at Athens in the Peloponnesian war for three drachmas[345]. A small sheep for a sacrifice, picked out for the use of the temple, is estimated in Menander at ten drachmas[346]. In the time of Lysias the prices cannot have been at all lower, otherwise the dishonest guardian mentioned in this orator could not have set down sixteen drachmas for a lamb at the Dionysia, whatever might have been his eagerness to overrate the charges in his accounts[347]. A remarkable but rather indeterminate statement is supplied by the oration against Euergus and Mnesibulus. The person for whom this speech was written had been robbed by Theophemus of fifty fine sheep together with the shepherd, and also a slave with a valuable water-pitcher and some shepherd's implements[348]. But the injured party was indebted to Theophemus for a fine, which together with Epobelia and Prytaneia amounted to 1313 drachmas and two oboli[349]; and he maintains that the stolen sheep together with the shepherd were worth more than the fine[350]. If we reckon the shepherd at a very high rate, viz. at more than three minas, it results that fifty sheep were worth 1000 drachmas; according to this the price of a fine full-grown sheep was at the least twenty drachmas. Concerning the value of goats, which were very plentiful in Attica, I have been able to obtain no information, except that in

[345] Aristoph. Pac. 373.
[346] Ap. Athen. IV. p. 146. E. VIII. p. 364. D.
[347] Lysias in Diogit. p. 906.
[348] See p. 1155. These sheep are called πρόβατα μαλακά.
[349] See p. 1158. 24. p. 1162. 20. p. 1164. 10.
[350] P. 1156. 15, 23. cf. p. 1164. 5.

Isæus[351], a hundred goats, together with sixty sheep, a horse, and some implements, are valued at thirty minas. As an example of luxury it may be worth mentioning, that Alcibiades gave seventy minas for a dog, which he shortly afterwards deprived of its chief beauty[352].

(15.) On the subject of corn it will be necessary to enter into a more detailed examination. The consumption of Attica required a very considerable supply of corn. "No state," asserts Demósthenes, "consumes so large a quantity[353]." The Athenian ambassadors in Livy[354] boast of having supplied 100,000 measures, although their state was obliged even to import corn for the use of the countrymen. But the main points to which we must direct our attention are, in the first place, what quantity of corn did Attica require? secondly, how much of this was it able to produce at home? and, thirdly, what quantity was it compelled to procure by importation? To answer these questions, the knowledge of which the Athenians considered necessary in a statesman[355], is far more difficult for us moderns, and yét is indispensable for an accurate insight into the political and statistical relations of Attica. I now undertake the solution of these problems, without presuming to maintain that I may not fall into error. According to the investigation in a former part of this book, Attica may be assumed to have contained a population of 135,000 free inhabitants and 365,000 slaves. An adult slave received, according to

[351] De Hagn. Hered. p. 293. The passage in the Speech *de Philoct. Hered.* p. 140. is still more indefinite.

[352] Plutarch. Alc. 9. Poll. V. 44.

[353] Demosth. de Corona p. 254. 21. and in Leptin. ut inf.

[354] XLIII. 6.

[355] Xenoph. Mem. Socrat. III. 6. 13. cf. Aristot. Rhet. I. 4.

accounts which can be fully depended upon, a chœnix or the 48th part of an Attic medimnus per diem, and consequently consumed in a common year of 354 days 7⅜ medimni. The Roman soldiers, according to Polybius, received about the same quantity, that is to say, at the most ⅞ of a medimnus of wheat per month. If we assume that among the slaves there were 25,000 children, the 340,000 adults would then consume 2,507,500 medimni a year. And if four medimni a year are reckoned for a slave child, the total slave population would have consumed 2,607,500 medimni. Among the free inhabitants one half must be reckoned as children; but the adults also, as they were better fed than the slaves, probably did not consume so much corn. It will be enough to reckon two medimni for a child and four for an adult, altogether 450,000 medimni for 135,000 souls. According to this the whole consumption of a common year would amount to 3,012,500 medimni, or since an exact calculation is impossible, in round numbers three millions, exclusively of the seed corn, which is more difficult to determine. If again it should be alleged that a larger quantity than this must have been required for the supply of the foreigners serving in the navy and the army, it should be remembered that the absence of a large number of soldiers and sailors from Athens would rather have had the effect of lessening the consumption, as the army was mostly supplied from abroad. On the other hand it can certainly be conceded that the necessity of supplying their country with imported provisions, increased the difficulty to the Athenians of employing many mercenaries, who were also to be provided with corn[356]. Now that Attica did not produce these three million medimni, we know for certain;

[356] Xenoph. Hellen. VI. 1. 4.

and corn was brought from all quarters into the market of the Piræeus, from the Pontus, Thrace, Syria, Egypt, Libya, and Sicily [357]. It is well known that the imports of corn from the Pontus were very considerable, which was the cause that Byzantium was of so great importance to the Athenians, and partly for that very reason Philip of Macedon endeavoured to obtain possession of this town [358]. In the time of Lysias private individuals imported corn from the Thracian Chersonese, probably from the Athenian Cleruchiæ [359]. Some corn was brought from other countries by the Athenian merchants, and part was supplied by Cyprus and Rhodes, through the medium of a carrying trade. From the former island there came to Athens in the time of Andocides corn-vessels in considerable numbers; of the latter, which was itself obliged to import corn, and according to Polybius subsequently obtained it from Sicily, we find an account in Lycurgus [360]. In addition to this, Eubœa, which was colonized with Cleruchi in the time of Pericles and Alcibiades, supplied corn and other products, which, before the occupation of Decelea by the Spartans, were imported over Oropus, but it subsequently became necessary to carry them in ships round Cape Sunium, which was fortified on this account [361]. A very large quantity of corn must consequently have been imported, although it was not all for the internal consumption of the country, but some

[357] Theophrast. de Plantis VIII. 4. see Anachars. tom. IV. chap. 55. Wolf ad Lept. p. 253. Meursius F. A. chap. IV. and many scattered passages in the Orators.

[358] Demosth. de Corona ut sup.

[359] Cf. Lys. in Diogit. p. 902.

[360] Andocid. de suo reditu p. 85, 86. Lycurg. in Leocr. p. 149. Polyb. XXVIII. 2.

[361] Thucyd. VII. 28. cf. VIII. 4.

to be sold in the Piræeus to foreigners. This makes the statement of Demosthenes appear the more unintelligible [362], that the imports from the Pontus, which did not amount to more than 400,000 medimni, might be taken as nearly equal to the whole importation from other countries; so that the total of the imports would have been little more than 800,000 medimni, exclusively of that which was never unshipped, but was transferred in the port of the Piræeus to other countries. Demosthenes appeals to the books of the Sitophylaces; but must we suppose that they agreed exactly with his words? All the Athenian orators, and even the noblest among them, Demosthenes, distorted the truth without the least hesitation, whenever it suited their own purposes. The total of the imports may be fairly taken upon an average in round numbers at a million medimni: but in particularly bad years, when even the fertile Bœotia (at least after two successive years of deficient harvests) required imported supplies [363], a much larger quantity was doubtless necessary for the consumption of Attica. If we compare this sum with the average number before assumed, it follows that Attica must have produced two million medimni, which in my opinion was not impossible. The country, it is true, is mountainous; but the height of the mountains is not so considerable as to have made them necessarily barren; the naked rock, which was not indeed uncommon in Attica, composed but a small

[362] In Lept. 466, 467. The words *πρὸς τοίνυν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμπορίων ἀφικνούμενον ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σῖτος εἰσπλέων ἐστίν*, do not signify an equality, but only an approximation in the quantity of the corn from the Pontus to the supplies received from other places, of which there is an evident proof in Herod. VIII. 44. cf. 48.

[363] Xenoph. Hellen. V. 4. 54.

portion of the area, and where the stony bottom was mixed with a little earth, barley could be cultivated: and art performed its share. What portion of the area of Attica (amounting to 64,000 stadii or 2,304,000 plethra) was corn-land, it is impossible for me to ascertain; but that it was possible for as much land to be under the plough as was sufficient to produce two million medimni, cannot easily be denied. In the territory of the Leontini in Sicily [364], the Roman jugerum, about $2\frac{2}{3}$ plethra, was sown with a medimnus of corn; that is, about a bushel and a half of seed was reckoned for an acre and a quarter, the jugerum being equal to 28,800 Roman or 25,532 Rheinland, i. e. 34,468 English, feet. The fertile land yielded in good years eightfold, in the best tenfold. If we assume, as may be fairly done, the same measure of seed-corn for Attica, and the increase on account of the inferior productiveness of the soil as only sixfold (and even at the present day, when agriculture has undoubtedly fallen off, the multiplication of grain in Attica, according to Hobhouse [365], is five and six for one and never more than ten), a plethron of land in Attica produced $2\frac{1}{4}$ medimni, and to produce two million medimni 888,890 plethra of land were requisite, and again for replacing the seed-corn 66,000 plethra besides. According to these suppositions the land in corn must have amounted to 955,500 plethra; the rest remained for fallow, plantations, vines (which were however frequently cultivated together with barley, the branches of the vines being attached to the trees), leguminous plants, gardens, pasture-grounds, bog, water, waste-land, roads,

[364] Cic. Verr. II. 3. 47.

[365] A Journey through Albania and other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, during the years 1809 and 1810. By J. C. Hobhouse, London, 1813. vol. I. p. 411.

and dwellings. How little exaggerated this supposition is, appears also to be proved from the fact, that the property of Phænippus containing 1440 plethra of land, although it was a boundary-estate with woods, produced yearly more than 1000 medimni of corn, and more than 800 metretæ of wine[366]. To general principles of political arithmetic I have intentionally paid no regard, because, when applied to ancient times, they usually yield doubtful and uncertain conclusions; and still less will I institute a comparison with the produce of Lacedæmon, since the estimate which has been attempted to be made from Plutarch[367] is founded upon false assumptions.

With an importation equal to a third part of the consumption, and in times of failure of the crops even this being insufficient, a great scarcity must necessarily have arisen[368], if judicious arrangements had not been devised in order to prevent the occurrence of such an event. The arrangements for the supply of corn were therefore conducted upon a large scale; Sunium was fortified, as has been remarked, in order to secure the sailing of the corn vessels round the promontory, armed ships convoyed the fleets laden with corn, as for example that from the Pontus[369]; when Pollis the Spartan remained near Ceos,

[366] Orat. in Phænipp. p. 1045. 5.

[367] Lycurg. 8. There were in Laconia altogether 39,000 estates, of which 9000 were Spartan: one of these estates brought the proprietor a return of 82 medimni of barley, from which the whole produce has been calculated. It was not however perceived that these 82 medimni were only the tribute or rent of the Helots; nor is it certain whether the passage is to be understood of the Spartan estates alone, or of the Lacedæmonian also.

[368] Cf. e. g. Demosth. in Phorm. p. 918. 8. in Leptin. p. 467.

[369] Demosth. de Corona p. 250, 251. in Polycl. p. 1211. 25.

Ægina, and Andros with sixty ships, Chabrias offered him battle, in order that the corn from Geræstus in Eubœa might reach the Piræeus [370]. The exportation of all grain was unconditionally prohibited: of the corn which arrived from foreign parts in the harbour of Athens the law required that two-thirds should be brought into the city, and compliance with this regulation was enforced by the Overseers of the Harbour [371]; that is to say, only one third could be carried away to other countries from the port of the Piræeus. In order to prevent as much as possible the accumulation and keeping back of corn [372], engrossing was very much restricted; it was not permitted to buy at one time more than fifty such loads as a man could carry (*φορμοί*) [373]. The violation of this law was punished with death. The corn-dealers or the engrossers of corn were

[370] Xenoph. Hellen. V. 4. 61. Diod. XV. 34.

[371] Harpocr. in v. *ἐπιμελητὴς ἐμπορίου*, from Aristotle, and Lex. Seg. p. 255. where *Ἀττικὸν* should be written instead of *ἀστικὸν*, and the rest of the article restored from Harpocration.

[372] Cf. Plutarch. de Curiosit. ad fin.

[373] *Φορμὸς*, from *φέρω*, generally means a platted basket, in which corn was probably carried. Taylor upon Lysias compares with it the cumeras or cumera of the Romans, of which there were two kinds, a greater and a less; the latter contained five or six modii, i. e. about an Attic medimnus. See Acron ad Horat. Serm. I. 1. 53. Probably at Athens the phormus was not very different from the medimnus: a medimnus of wheat weighed from about eighty to ninety pounds, and may therefore be fairly taken for a man's load: thus the army of Lucullus, according to Plutarch, was followed by 30,000 Galatæ, who carried 30,000 medimni of corn. The explanations of the grammarians afford no information as to the size, but the notion of Petit that *φορμὸς* is the same as *κόφινος* ($\frac{3}{10}$ of the Attic medimnus) is absurd. Vid. Leg. Att. V. 5. 7.

also compelled to sell the medimnus for only one obolus more than the price they themselves had given. Notwithstanding which regulations, these men, who were for the most part aliens, raised the price of corn by competition in bad times, and often sold it upon the same day a drachma higher[374]. Lysias cannot say enough of the villany of these usurers, who were then just as much detested as they are in modern times. They bought up corn under the pretence of providing for the interest of the people, or of having an order from the proper authorities; but if a war-tax was imposed, their momentary public spirit had altogether vanished. The public loss was their gain; and so much did they rejoice at the occurrence of any national calamity, that they never failed to have the first intelligence of it; or else they fabricated some disastrous news, such as that the ships in the Pontus had been taken or destroyed, that the trading-places were closed up, or the treaties were in danger of being broken off: even when external enemies were at rest, they annoyed the citizens by buying up the corn, and refusing to sell when it was most wanted, in order that people might not contend with them about the price, but be content to take it on their terms[375]. Nor did even the merchants make any profit by it, a circumstance upon which much stress is laid by the modern teachers of political economy in favour of engrossing: on the contrary they suffered severe injury from the combinations of the corn-dealers and their continual persecution[376]. "If they were not menaced with the punishment of death,"

[374] See the Speech of Lysias against the Corndealers, more particularly p. 715, 718, 720.

[375] Ibid. pp. 720, 721 sqq.

[376] Ibid. pp. 726, 727.

says Lysias[377], "they would be scarcely endurable." Whilst therefore the sale of all other commodities was under the inspection of the Agoranomi, the State, in order to control the engrossing of corn, had set over this one branch of trade the separate office of the Sitophylaces[378], which originally consisted of three persons, afterwards of ten in the city and five in the Piræeus, probably because their duties had increased. These officers kept accounts of the imported corn, and it was also a part of their duties to inspect the meal and bread, and to take care that it was sold at the legal weight and price[379]. But even the Sitophylaces could not at times control the importunate competition on the part of the engrossers, who were

[377] P. 725.

[378] Ibid. p. 722.

[379] Lysias ut sup. p. 717. mentions three Sitophylaces. The other statement rests upon the authority of Aristotle's State of Athens ap. Harpocrat. in v. *σιτοφύλακες*, where Valesius correctly reads *ἦσαν δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν πεντεκαίδεκα· δέκα μὲν ἐν ἄστει*, &c. Sigonius R. A. IV. 3. silently follows the first account; Petit. V. 5. 7. perceived the truth, but his emendation is false with regard to the position of the words, and *δέκα* is only to be repeated. Photius (in whose article for *ἄριστοι* read *ἄρτοι*) has the same error; he moreover states that in later times there were thirty (λ′) in the city and five in the Piræeus. All this is without doubt to be attributed solely to confusion, errors of the transcriber, and the false emendation of previously existing mistakes. The original passage, from which the different accounts were derived, was probably as follows: *ἦσαν δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν. πάλαι μὲν τρεῖς, ὕστερον δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα, δέκα μὲν ἐν ἄστει, πέντε δὲ ἐν Πειραιεῖ*. Their duties may be seen from Demosth. in Lept. ubi sup. Harpocrat. and Lex. Seg. p. 300. The inspection of bread and prepared corn, particularly of barley meal (*ἄλφιτα*), occurs as early as in the age of Pericles. See the ancient comic poet ap. Plutarch. Præc. Polit. 15.

punished with the greatest severity, and at times condemned to death [380]; where we are as much astonished at the irregularity of the corn-police, as at the formidable administration of justice. A still greater loss to the state was caused by the speculations of the merchants, who, as Xenophon remarks [381], carried corn about to different parts, and did not sell it at the first place they arrived at, but where they had ascertained the price to be highest. Andocides [382] gives an account of a plot for turning the corn-fleet from Cyprus, which was bound for Athens, in another direction; but he compelled the contrivers to relinquish their plans. No one with regard to corn did Athens and the other Grecian states so much injury as Cleomenes of Alexandria, Alexander's Satrap in Egypt, who accumulated large stores of corn, fixed the prices arbitrarily, and on account of the number of servants whom he had engaged in the corn-trade, was enabled every where to ascertain the state of the market with accuracy. He employed three descriptions of persons, some who despatched the corn, the attendants of the latter, and others, who received it and unshipped on the spot: accordingly he did not allow his corn-vessels to touch at any commercial town before his assistants in that place had given information with regard to the state of the prices; if they were high, the corn was landed and sold, and if not, the vessel proceeded to some other place. By these means

[380] Lysias ut sup. pp. 718, 723, 725. extr. 726. init. Perhaps Demosth. in Timocrat. p. 743. 4. also refers to this subject, according to whom persons who acted fraudulently in dealings relating to corn were sentenced to imprisonment.

[381] Œcon. 20, 27.

[382] De suo reditu pp. 85, 86. It is almost unnecessary to mention that Andocides was a merchant.

the corn at Athens rose considerably, until the importation from Sicily produced a relief[383]. Of the contrivances of this obnoxious corn-dealer the author of the second book of the Œconomics attributed to Aristotle gives some other examples. At a dear time when the medimnus sold for ten drachmas, he convened the sellers for the purpose of ascertaining from them at what price they would transfer their corn to him: upon their agreeing to sell it to him cheaper than to the retail-dealers, he gave them the same price, but afterwards fixed the medimnus at 32 drachmas! Upon the occasion of a great scarcity in foreign countries, and even in Egypt to a certain degree, he prohibited that any corn should be exported; upon the representation of the Nomarchs, that the taxes could not be paid if the exportation was not made free, he permitted it, but at so high a duty, that the exports were very limited, which the Nomarchs were deprived of their pretext for not paying the taxes, and moreover a large sum was raised from the export duty.

The Athenians endeavoured by various measures to ensure or to increase the importation of corn. Of these was the general law that no money should be lent upon any vessel which did not bring to Athens a return-cargo of goods, among which corn was expressly specified[384]; and also the more important law, which provided that no person dwelling in Attica, should import corn to any other place than into the port of Athens; the transgressor was subject to a Phasis, and also to an Eisangelia according to Lycurgus, and consequently to the punishment of death[385].

[383] Demosth. in Dionysod. p. 1285.

[384] See above chap. 9.

[385] Demosth. in Phorm. p. 918. 5. in Lacrit. p. 941. 4. Lycurg.

Theophilus[386] asserts, that the corn-dealers at Athens had enjoyed a freedom from taxes; which evidently cannot be understood of the times of its independence, unless it was a transitory indulgence, or to a very limited extent. For the term Ateleia has several significations; it is either a general immunity (ἀτέλεια ἁπάντων), or a particular exemption from the liturgies, or from certain custom-duties and other taxes[387]. For example, the Athenians gave the universal exemption from taxes to the Byzantian and Thracian refugees, who were resident at Athens in the time of Thrasybulus[388]; and to Leucon the ruler of the Bosporus, who, together with his sons, had an exemption from custom-duties, as is particularly remarked[389]. In this

in Leocr. p. 156. and the speech against Theocrines. That the Phasis might be instituted in such a case is certain from the last-mentioned oration, from which (p. 1325. 28.) it is to be particularly remarked that the informer received half the forfeited commodities. Concerning the Phasis against this offence see also the Commentators of Pollux VIII. 47. and Lex. Seg. p. 313. in v. φαίνειν, where the words ἢ ἔμπορον ἀλλαχόθι ἐργαζόμενον can only be referred to this practice. Concerning the Eisangelia against this offence see Matthiä Miscell. Philog. tom. I. p. 231.

[386] Theophil. I. 2. according to the emendation of Salmasius de M. U. V. p. 195. upon the authority of MSS.

[387] See Wolf ad Lept. p. LXXI sqq.

[388] Demosth. in Lept. pp. 474, 475.

[389] Demosth. in Lept. pp. 466—468. That he was free from custom-duties is evident from the comparison of the Ateleia given to him and to his sons with that granted by him to all the Athenians, p. 466. 29. This complete exemption appears to have been once given to the Thebans and Olynthians (Harpocrat. in v. Ἰσοτελὴς), unless it only means an exemption from protection-money and liturgies, in case they should come as denizens to Athens, in the same manner that the Byzantians, in addition

general Ateleia was comprised the exemption from custom-duties, and from the liturgies (with the exception of the trierarchy, which was only disallowed under certain conditions regulated by law), and for aliens from the protection-money, and in particular cases from property-taxes; perhaps also the exemption from providing sacrifices (ἀτέλεια ἱερῶν[d]), concerning which very little is known. That the corn-merchants could not have enjoyed this universal immunity is alone evident from the fact of their not having possessed several of the individual exemptions. For, to say nothing of the general immunity, they must in the first place have had an exemption from the import-duties upon corn; now in Athens, the corn-duty was let out in farm[390], and it must therefore have entirely disappeared, if all corn-merchants had been allowed by law to import corn free of duty; the assertion in question does not therefore require any refutation. It is still less conceivable that they should have had permission to import or export other goods free of duty, although individuals were allowed this privilege for all or certain articles[391]. Were they however

to the rights of citizenship, gave an exemption of liturgies to all Athenians going to Byzantium. See the decree ap. Demosth. de Corona p. 256. and compare the decree of the Arcadians in Crete in Chishull's Ant. Asiat. p. 119.

[d] "Mox vectigalia sacris faciundis a Plothensibus pendenda memorantur: a quibus ut *immunitatem* habeant, ex publico solvuntur ea vectigalia. Hinc vides quæ sit ἀτέλεια ἱερῶν, quam memorat Demosth. adv. Lept. §. 105. ed. F. A. Wolfii, in qua jure hæsit editor Proleg. p. LXXI." Boeckh. ad Inscript. 82. tom. I. p. 122.

[390] See the Speech against Neæra, p. 1353. 23.

[391] An instance of free exportation, particularly of wood, which is undoubtedly to be referred to Athens, is given by Theophrastus Char. 23.

exempted from the regular liturgies? Unquestionably not; since, according to Demosthenes, so small a number either of the citizens or resident aliens were exempted from them[392]. Moreover this orator would not have omitted to point out the prejudicial effects which the abolition of the immunity of the corn-merchants would have had upon the importation of corn, if any thing of the kind had existed; for in the speech against Leptines he searches for every argument against this abolition, and particularly in speaking of Leucon's Ateleia, he mentions the dangerous effect which the abolition of this exemption might have upon the free exportation from the Bosporus. Hence it may be concluded either that the immunity of the corn-merchants had no real existence, or that at any rate it amounted to a very trifling exemption. At the most it might be possible that the resident aliens who imported corn, were exempted from certain degrading liturgies, such as the Scaphephoria and the like, or from the protection-money[393]. Nor moreover is the least credit due to the absurd assertion of the scholiast to Aristophanes[394], that in Athens, the merchants had an immunity from all property-taxes. They were not even excepted from the liturgies, an exemption, which, it may be observed, would have been extremely unfair; Andocides, notwithstanding that he was a merchant, performed liturgies, though he was not appointed upon his own offer[395]. The statement of the Scholiast is either an erroneous inference from the words of the poet, or a misconception of the account of

[392] See book III. 21.

[393] Concerning the latter see book III. 7.

[394] Plut. 905. cf. Eccles. 1019.

[395] Andocid. de Myst. p. 65. cf. Inscript. ap. Chandler II. 6. p. 48. Vit. X. Orat. p. 229.

Euphronius, upon whose authority he relies. The truth is, that those who traded by sea had an exemption from serving in war, although this privilege was probably circumscribed within narrow limits[396]. Now since the exemption from military service is also called Ateleia[397], it seems to me most probable, that when Theophilus speaks of the immunity of the corn-merchants, he means nothing more than this exemption, which was granted alike to all merchants. It may be also observed, that Athens had public warehouses for corn in the Odeum, the Pompeum, the long Porch, and at the naval storehouse near the sea, where corn, bread, &c. were sold to the people[398]. It is not however quite clear, whether this magazine was used exclusively for corn which belonged to the State, or whether grain was there measured out which was the property of private merchants. There are some grounds for considering the latter notion as the more probable[399]. It is however certain that considerable stores were brought to Athens at the expence of the State, which must have been kept in this warehouse. This corn was in part purchased with the public money, and partly by voluntary contributions: a

[396] This is stated by the Scholiast and Suidas in v. ἔμπορός εἰμι σκηπτόμενος.

[397] Vid. Orat. in Neær. ubi sup. Whether however the immunity from military service was comprised under the ἀτέλεια ἁπάντων, may be fairly doubted, although military service was included among the τέλη; at least I do not venture to assume it without express testimony to the point.

[398] Demosth. in Phorm. p. 918. Concerning the public sale of corn see also Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 103. concerning the Odeum see Lex. Seg. p. 318. and upon the magazines of corn Poll. IX. 45. with the Commentators.

[399] From Demosth. ut sup. p. 918. 24—26.

merchant named Chrysippus boasted of having given a talent for that purpose; Demosthenes also presented an equal sum [400]. Certain persons named Sitonæ were appointed to superintend the sale, whose office was not considered unimportant, as it implied the entire confidence of the people; there were also Apodectæ, whose duty it was to receive the corn and to measure it out. The former situation was once filled by Demosthenes; and it was perhaps at that time that he gave the voluntary contribution already mentioned [401]. It was doubtless sold to the people at a very low price, as otherwise these donations of money would have been unnecessary; perhaps too the corn brought to Athens was at times distributed gratis. The want however of adequate information renders it impossible to form any certain conclusion; for even when the reader hopes that he has at length met with a statement which may be depended upon, the ambiguity of the expression and the difficulty of interpretation oppose insuperable difficulties in his way. Thus Demosthenes, in the speech against Leptines, relates that two years before, during a scarcity of corn, Leucon had sent so large a quantity and at so cheap a rate, that fifteen talents, of which Callisthenes had the management, remained as an overplus. It may however be doubted whether a clear surplus actually remained, in the sense in which the commentators understand it, viz. that these fifteen talents formed a portion of the money set apart for the purchase of corn, which had not been entirely con-

[400] Demosth. in Phorm. p. 918. 27. Attic Decree at the end of the Lives of the Ten Orators in Plutarch I. Theophrast. Char. 23. does not appear to refer to this point.

[401] Poll. VIII. 114. Demosth. de Corona p. 310. 1.

sumed; or whether we are not rather to understand that as the corn had been bought up at so low a price, this sum remained as a net surplus profit to the State, after the corn had been sold to the people[402]. To this donation of corn an account of Strabo has been with much apparent probability referred[403]; for the context shews that he must allude to some particular distribution of corn, inasmuch as he states expressly that Leucon had sent 2,100,000 medimni to the Athenians from Theudosia; and it is possible that this took place within the space of one year. For since Attica consumed 3,000,000 medimni, of which in the regular course of things it was required to produce 2,000,000, a failure of the crops might easily for once have caused the produce of the country to fall off to half the usual amount; and while the other countries, which also felt the effects of the general scarcity, were unable to furnish any supplies, Leucon alone made up the deficiency. On particular occasions free distributions of corn took place at Athens (*σιτοδοσίαι*), such as were very frequent in

[402] The passage is as follows (p. 467. 14—17.): *Ἀλλὰ προπίεσι σιτοδείας παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γενομένης οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖν ἱκανὸν σῖτον ἀπέστειλεν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ὥστε πεντεκαίδεκα ἀργυρίου τάλαντα, ἃ Καλλισθένης διώκησε, προσπεριγενέσθαι.* Τοσούτου should evidently be written with Hier. Wolf, and compare the note of F. A. Wolf ad Lept. pp. 257, 258. The date of the occurrence is about Olymp. 105. 4. The chief ambiguity lies in the word *προσπεριγενέσθαι*. It might be said that if Demosthenes had only wished to signify the residue of the money appointed for purchasing corn, he would have said *περιγένεσθαι*; and that *προσπεριγένεσθαι* shews that the excess was gained, viz. by the sale of corn to the citizens; but I do not venture to found any arguments upon this supposition. It must not on any account be supposed that the corn was sold abroad.

[403] VII. p. 215.

Rome; the object of them being in both places to pacify the people[404]. The presents in particular, which were at times made to the people from foreign parts, were distributed gratis. Thus Demetrius Poliorcetes, in Olymp. 118. 2. promised to the Athenians 150,000 medimni of corn as a present from his father. Thus Spartocus, the son of Eumelus, king in the Bosporus, who reigned twenty years from Olymp. 119. 1., sent 10,000 medimni to the people of Athens[405]. So again in Olymp. 83. 4. in the Archonship of Lysimachides, the Athenians during a scarcity of corn received from an Egyptian of the name of Psammetichus, who was not known to them, 40,000 medimni of wheat, which were distributed among the genuine citizens[406]. With this distribution the Scholiast to Aristophanes[407] confounds another, in which each citizen

[404] Aristoph. Vesp. 714. The word σιτοδοσία occurs in Pollux VIII. 103. who observes from Andocides that checking-clerks (ἀντιγραφεῖς) were employed for some purposes connected with it.

[405] Plutarch. Demetr. 10. Diod. XX. 46. Attic Decree in Chandler Inscript. II. 12. Concerning the time of Spartocus, or, as Diodorus incorrectly calls him, Spartacus, see Diod. XX. 100. The same person occurs in two inscriptions found at Phanagoria. Another more ancient Spartocus occurs in Diod. XII. 31, 36. (where see the Commentators), also king of the Cimmerian Bosporus, another in XIV. 93. and again another as king in the Pontus in Diod. XVI. 52. who was succeeded by his brother Pairisades. A Spartocus, father of Pairisades, perhaps the same with the son of Eumelus, is mentioned in an inscription. More however of these well known princes elsewhere. It may be observed that by Bosporus and Pontus the same kingdom is signified.

[406] Philochorus ap. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 716. where δ' μυριάδας should be written from Plutarch. Pericl. 37. Concerning the number of the citizens comp. above chap. 7.

[407] Ubi sup.

received five medimni of barley, although he himself perceives that from 40,000 medimni 14,240 citizens could not have each received five medimni. The donation of which Aristophanes speaks, took place in Olymp. 89. 1. one year before the Wasps of the same poet, when, in the Archonship of Isarchus, an expedition was undertaken against Eubœa. At that time it was probably expected that large supplies would be derived from this island, and fifteen medimni of corn had therefore been promised to each citizen, a new scrutiny being also instituted into the genuineness of their births; after all however they only received five medimni [408]. The division of the lands in Eubœa, which Aristophanes expressly distinguishes from this donation of corn, was perhaps promised at the same time. The donation of corn made by Atticus to the people, at the time of their severe distress, is also a well-known circumstance [409].

Before I attempt to ascertain the prices of corn, something must be said upon the measures by which it was sold. The Attic corn-medimnus (μέδιμνος σιτηρὸς) contained, according to the division commonly used in trade, six sextarii (ἑκτεῖς) or forty-eight chœnices, or 192 cotylas (κοτύλαι): this last occurs both as dry and liquid measure [410].

[408] Aristophanes in the text, where the words ξενίας φεύγων allude to the examinations into the legal claims of the citizens, which were made with great strictness upon these occasions. Concerning the Archon, under whom the expedition was undertaken, see Palmer Exercit. in Auct. Græc. p. 738. Compare also the Fragments of Philochorus in the edition of Lenz and Siebelis pp. 51, 52.

[409] Nepos Att. 2.

[410] Pollux X. 113. IV. 168. VII. 195. cf. Athen. XI. p. 479. F.

Pollux in the fourth book reckons three cotylas instead of four to a chœnix, which belongs to some other mode of computing than that in use among the Athenians. A chœnix was the common daily allowance of food (ἡμερησία τροφή) [411], particularly for slaves, from which circumstance the Corinthians, who had a great number of slaves, are said to have been called chœnix-measurers by the Pythian priestess [412]. An athlete indeed was able, according to Theophrastus, to consume two and half Attic chœnices a day; and if Aglais required for one meal twelve minas of meat and a chus of wine, it is natural that she should eat four chœnices of maize-bread. This woman was a player on the trumpet of great celebrity; Herodorus of Megara, also a famous trumpeter, consumed six chœnices of maize-bread each day, eight minas of meat, or according to another authority twenty minas, and drank twice as much as the former person [413]; not to mention many other gluttons, whose names may be found in Athenæus. The Spartans also, who lived upon little food, appear to have eaten much bread; each person was therefore bound to furnish monthly a medimnus of barley-meal to the public entertainment, together with a scanty portion of other provisions. The Athenian prisoners in the quarries of Syracuse only received half a chœnix, i.e. two cotylas of barley and one

[411] Cf. Herod. VII. 187. from which it might indeed be inferred that a chœnix was but a small quantity; but it must be remembered that he is speaking of soldiers, who would naturally consume a large quantity, and that there were also many persons of distinction. Suidas in v. Πυθαγόρα τὰ σύμβολα ἦν τάδε, Athen. III. p. 98. E.

[412] Athen. VI. p. 272. B.

[413] Ælian. Hist. Var. I. 26. Poll. IV. 89. Athen. X. p. 415. F. λίτρα in Athenæus is the same as μνᾶ.

cotyla of water, which allowance was continued for eight months[414]. That with this scanty food many of them perished in the first sixty days from hunger and thirst is not to be wondered at, particularly as barley contains but little nourishment[415]. The size of these several measures immediately follows from the determination of the medimnus. Without paying any regard to the false statements of Eisenschmid and Romé de l'Isle, or to the ambiguous calculation of Rambach, I follow the account given by Ideler, which can alone be depended upon. The Athenian medimnus then, like the Sicilian, contained six Roman modii[416]; but the modius, according to a decree of the people preserved in Festus, contained 16, the amphora 48 sextarii; consequently the Athenian medimnus contained about two amphoræ, which is also shewn by the testimony of Rhemnius Fannius[417]. But the amphora or quadrantal was the Roman cubic foot, which as the Roman foot of long measure is nearly equal to 131 Paris

[414] Concerning the Spartans see Plutarch. Lycurg. 12. Of the prisoners in Syracuse, Thuc. VII. 87. Plutarch. Nic. 29. cf. Eustath. ad Il. χ. p. 1282. 15. Diod. XIII. 33. asserts that the proposal of Diocles was accepted, that the captive Athenians, Sicilians, and Italians should work in prison, and receive two chœnices a day (XIII. 19.); but although he here speaks of a different period, viz. when they were brought out of the stone-quarries, and separated from the other prisoners, Diodorus does not deserve the least credit, and he has probably confounded two cotylas with two chœnices. It is unnecessary to adduce any proof of the assertion that Diodorus is a wretched historian.

[415] Athen. III. p. 115.

[416] Nepos Att. 2. Cic. Verr. Frument. 46, 49. Suidas in v. μέδιμνον, from which passage correct Zonaras in the same word.

[417] Hujus (amphoræ) dimidium fert urna, ut et ipsa medimni amphora, terque capit modium.

lines, contained 1301 Paris cubic inches. The medimnus was therefore about equal to 2602 French or 3150.059 English cubic inches (for it can hardly be supposed that the ratio of the modius to the medimnus was precisely as 6 to 1); and the English pint of dry measure containing 33.6 cubic inches, the medimnus of 3150 cubic inches is equal to 93.75 pints, or 1 bushel 3 gallons 5.75 pints, i. e. nearly a bushel and a half. Of other corn measures, consistently with my plan, I shall only touch upon the artabe and the Bœotian cophinus. The former was a Persian measure, and contained, according to Herodotus[418], an Attic medimnus and three chœnices. Others fix it at an approximate valuation as equal to the Attic medimnus[419]. It was also in use in Egypt, where there was besides a smaller artabe, which only contained $3\frac{1}{3}$ Roman modii or $26\frac{2}{3}$ Athenian chœnices[420]. If the capacity of this measure is doubled, it gives $53\frac{1}{3}$ Athenian chœnices, which differs so little from the value of the greater artabe in Herodotus (51 chœnices), that, as it appears, we may fairly assume the smaller artabe to have been exactly half the greater, and either that the statement of Herodotus is too low, or that the valuation of the smaller artabe at $3\frac{1}{3}$ Roman modii is somewhat too high, or, lastly, that the ratio of the Athenian medimnus to the Roman modius has been estimated a fraction too low. The Bœotian cophinus, which was used both as a wet and dry measure, contained two[421] choëis, i. e. a quarter metretes, or 36 cotylas, since the metretes contained 144 cotylas, which is equivalent to nine chœnices, or $\frac{3}{16}$ medimnus of Athenian measure.

[418] I. 192.

[419] Suidas, Hesychius, Polyæn. IV. 3. 32. Epiphanius Ponder. 24.

[420] Wesseling ad Diod. XX. 96.

[421] Poll. IV. 169. Hesych. in κόφινος.

The prices of different kinds of corn were, as may be supposed, very different. In Sicily and upper Italy the price of barley was only half that of maize, in Athens probably, as in Lusitania, it amounted to two thirds of the price of the latter [422]; but where the price of corn is mentioned, the particular description of grain is not always specified. It may be seen from examples, that the prices from the time of Solon to that of Demosthenes were continually rising; yet again there frequently existed at the same period a great fluctuation, according to the greater or less productiveness of the years, the increase or diminution in the imports, the prejudicial effects of the engrossers both in and out of Attica, or the imposition of high custom-duties in foreign parts, or the accidental remittance of them to the Athenians; thus for example Leucon and Pairisades, kings of the Bosporus, the former of whom used to levy a duty of a thirtieth upon all exported corn, granted to the Athenian people an exemption from this tax [423]. Prices at Athens were never again so low as in the time of Solon, when the medimnus was sold for a drachma [424]. Barley-meal (ἄλφιτα) was sold in the age of Socrates at two drachmas the medimnus, and at an obolus for four chœnices [425]; by which however we are not to understand meal prepared after the modern way. Diogenes the Cynic reckons, that in his age the chœnix of barley-

[422] Concerning Upper Italy and Lusitania see above chap. 10. I will presently speak of Sicily and Athens.

[423] Demosth. in Lept. p. 467. in Phorm. p. 917. 25.

[424] Plutarch. Solon. 23. Petit. Leg. Att. I. 1. 3. wishes to read ten drachmas for one, which really almost borders on madness.

[425] Plutarch. de Animi Tranquillitate 10. Stob. Serm. XCV. p. 521. Comp. Barthél. in the Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. XLVIII. p. 394. concerning the price of corn.

meal sold at two chalcûs, and consequently the medimnus at two drachmas[426]: but this can only refer to the cheapest years, for at a former period the common price at Athens had been much higher. In a play of Aristophanes[427] a man declares that he has lost a hecteus of maize, by not having gone to the assembly, and consequently not receiving his three oboli, whence it may be concluded that about the 96th and 97th Olympiads, the medimnus of maize sold for three drachmas, which agrees very well with the price of barley just quoted. But in the time of Demosthenes, and even after Alexander's expedition against Thebes, five drachmas were a moderate price, at which during a scarcity some of the more liberal corn-dealers sold their maize: thus Chrysippus sold 10,000 medimni at this price[428]. According to the speech against Phænippus[429], even barley must have been at six drachmas for a long time, as eighteen drachmas are stated to be three times the former price. The prices in other Grecian States were not very different. In the second book of the Œconomics attributed to Aristotle, it is stated that the price of barley-meal at Lampsacus was four drachmas, but that the State once fixed it upon a particular occasion at six drachmas, in order to obtain a profit of the difference. When Sicily came under the Roman dominion, the latter people fixed for supplies the Frumentum Decumanum Alterum at three sesterces for each modius, the Imperatum and Æstimatum of maize at four and of barley at two sesterces the modius; a price which must at that time have been moderate, as the Romans would doubtless have

[426] Diog. Laert. VI. in Vit. Diog.

[427] Eccles. 543.

[428] Demosth. in Phorm. p. 918.

[429] P. 1048. 24.

fixed a low rate, although according to the statement of Cicero, it was not insupportable to the cultivators. Consequently the medimnus of the Decumanum Alterum cost at that time four drachmas the medimnus, of the Imperatum, and Æstimatum of barley four drachmas four oboli, and of maize five drachmas two oboli of Attic money. If the lowness of these prices should seem startling, we must remember how dense was the population of this country and how large the exportation. In earlier times however corn, as may be inferred from the price of cattle [430], must have been much cheaper in Sicily; and subsequently, as for example in the time of Verres, prices did not attain even this height, on account of the decreasing population of the cities; the medimnus of maize was commonly sold at that time for twelve sesterces, or two drachmas four oboli, and never rose to more than fifteen sesterces, or three drachmas four oboli [431]. It is also to be observed that in the prices of the supplies of Sicilian corn, as the Romans had fixed them, the cost of transport to each separate place of destination was likewise included. Such prices as the following are extraordinary, viz. when corn rose at Athens to sixteen and barley to eighteen drachmas; also at Rome in the year of the city 544, the Sicilian medimnus of corn was sold, according to Polybius, at fifteen drachmas, or rather denarii; and in Dollabella's army, from which the supplies by way of Laodicea were cut off, the medimnus of maize was sold for twelve drachmas [432]. From a very corrupt passage of Strattis

[430] See above chap. 14.

[431] Cic. Verr. Frument. 74, 75, 81, 84.

[432] Demosth. in Phorm. p. 918. Orat. in Phænipp. p. 1045. 4. Polyb. IX. 44. Cic. ad Fam. XII. 13.

preserved in Pollux [433], so much at least may be gathered, that a slave, to the great astonishment of his master, pretends to have bought a Bœotian cophinus of barley-meal for about four drachmas, which gives for the medimnus 21 drachmas two oboli; and it may be inferred from the same grammarian that another writer spoke of maize being sold for 32 drachmas, without doubt referring to the usurious practices of Cleomenes, which I have already noticed [434]; not to mention that at Athens during the siege of Sulla, the medimnus of maize rose to a thousand drachmas, the inhabitants being reduced to feed even on shoes and leathern bottles; and in like manner at Casilinum, where the Prænestini were besieged by Hannibal, the same measure was sold for 200 drachmas [435].

[433] Pollux IV. 169. Petit ut sup. reckons from this passage the medimnus at 128 drachmas.

[434] Pollux IV. 165. where there stood formerly the word τριακονταδιδραχμιπυργοι, an uncouth form, which Petitus alone retained, and proposed to change to τριακονταδιδραχμόπυργοι. The reading of Voss's manuscript, τριακονταδίδραχμοι πυροί, is evidently the right one, and consequently the price of maize is meant; manifestly that which was fixed by Cleomenes. The present reading in the text, δίδραχμοι, is entirely without foundation, as well as Kühn's conjecture, τριακαιδικάδραχμοι: τρικοντάδραχμοι, the correction of Jungermann, has indeed some probability; however I consider the reading of Voss's manuscript to be correct for this reason, that the use of the singular compound τριακονταδίδραχμοι instead of δυοκαιτριακοντάδραχμοι appears to be the very reason why Pollux quotes the word.

[435] See Plutarch. Sulla 13. and Strabo V. p. 164. where in the account of Casilinum the medimnus is mentioned alone, without the thing measured, which ought never to have appeared surprising to so excellent a scholar as Casaubon, as it so frequently occurs. Pliny, Frontinus, and Valerius Maximus substitute indeed a mouse in the place of this measure, but Strabo had too

The varieties of bread were extremely numerous in Greece, and particularly at Athens, and the invention of the Athenians was directed with great success to this department of the culinary art [436]. Athenæus and Pollux will supply the amateur of the arts of cookery and baking with sufficient materials for enquiries, which we neither feel disposed nor entitled to enter upon. The most common distinction is between maize-bread (ἄρτος) and barley-bread (μάζα): ἄλφιτα sometimes means barley-meal itself, and sometimes a bread made of barley-meal, of a very fine quality, and adapted for cookery [437]. I have not however been able to meet with any clear statement in reference to the price of bread, but it was probably high in proportion to that of corn; for, if we may judge from the rate of interest, a great profit must have been obtained upon the capital employed in the preparation of bread. At Athens four large and eight small loaves used to be baked out of a chœnix of corn; consequently one large or two small loaves out of a cotyla [438]; in dear times, when for example corn was at sixteen drachmas, a loaf of maize-bread of this kind, probably a large one of a cotyla, might have sold for an obolus: to which may be referred the fact, that at the very same time maize-bread was sold in the

much judgment to say, as the Commentators impute to him, that two hundred drachmas were given for a mouse, and that the sellers died, but that the buyers saved their lives. We must indeed, if this story be true, suppose that great events spring from little causes.

[436] Athen. III. p. 112. C. &c.

[437] Omitting other passages, I only refer to Xenoph. Œcon. 8. 9. Plat. Rep. II. p. 372. B. Poll. VI. 78. Concerning the word μάζα see below chap. 23.

[438] Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 438. Lysistrat. 1208.

Piræeus in loaves of an obolus[439]. At Alexandria the ἄρτος ὀβελίας or ὀβελίτης was sold for an obolus[440], and probably the same was the case at Athens[441], which however gives no information with regard to the price, as the size is unknown; and this Alexandrian bread was not of the ordinary kind, but something more costly, which is opposed to the common maize-bread[442]. There were also loaves of a much larger size, for instance of three chœnices[443]; and at the Dionysia they carried around in honour of the divine inventor, loaves of from one to three medimni, which were likewise called ἄρτοι ὀβελίαι[444].

(16.) The common measure for liquids was the metretes, which contained twelve choeis or 144 cotylas, and to which the common vessel (ἀμφορεὺς, κάδος, κεράμιον) was adapted. The Roman amphora, or the solid foot, was according to

[439] Demosth. in Phorm. p. 918.

[440] Concerning which bread and its price see Pollux I. 248. and in other places, Athen. III. p. 111. B. who has been transcribed by Eustath. ad Il. N. p. 930. ad Odyss. A. p. 39. 38.

[441] If the interpretation of ὀβολίας ἄρτους in Aristophanes given in Lex. Seg. p. 111. is correct.

[442] Pherecrates ap. Athen. ubi sup. and Nicochares the comic poet ibid. XIV. p. 645. C. It may be observed that the supposition, which is mentioned in Athenæus, and thence in Eustathius, and which occurred to Seber ad Poll. I. 248. that this bread received its name from the price, is extremely improbable, although ὀβελὸς and ὀβολὸς are the same word, and originally meant a fork or spit, and afterwards the coin so called. Cf. Plutarch. Lysand. 17. Poll. IX. 77. and the Commentators, Etymol. in ὀβελίσκος, also the Commentators upon Athenæus ubi sup. and Taylor ad Marm. Sandw. p. 49. It was no doubt so called from the forks or long pieces of wood upon which it was baked in the ashes. See Athen. III. ubi sup. and the Commentators, Photius p. 229.

[443] Xenoph. Anab. VII. 3. 23.

[444] Poll. VI. 75. cf. Eustath.

the testimony of Rhemnius Fannius ⅔ of the Attic metretes: but the Attic medimnus is the double of the amphora; consequently the metretes was ⅔ of the Attic medimnus, which is also evident from its being equal to 144 cotylas. The contents of the medimnus were in a former place ascertained to have been 2602 Paris inches, and therefore the metretes is equal to 2362.5 English cubic inches, or 81.818 pints, i. e. 10 gallons 1⅔ pints of wine measure. Who then is not astonished at the extraordinary cheapness of wine in ancient times, upon reading of such prices, as have been already quoted with regard to Lusitania, at which more than ten gallons of unmixed wine sold for 3d.? And since the ancients allowed one part of wine to two of water, without intending to dilute it much, ten gallons of such liquor were sold for a penny. The common wine must therefore have been looked upon as the cheapest of all necessaries, the causes of which phenomenon have been already stated. In Lusitania the metretes of wine appears to have been equal in price to the medimnus of barley, but at Athens it seems to have been even cheaper than barley; for according to the speech against Phænippus, when prices were three times higher than usual, barley was sold at eighteen and the native Athenian wine at twelve drachmas[445]. Therefore, according to the usual price, the metretes of wine was sold for four drachmas: even this rate however, as well as six drachmas for a medimnus of barley, must have been considered dear; there would be no danger of exaggeration, if the half of this price were assumed as an average for cheaper times. In an agreement in Demosthenes[446] 300 casks (κεράμια) of Mendæan wine are estimated at 600 drachmas, that is, the cask or the metretes

[445] Orat. in Phænipp. p. 1048. 24.

[446] In Lacrit. p. 928. extr.

came to two drachmas, although Mendæan wine was used even at the most sumptuous entertainments of the Macedonians [447]. It is mentioned by Polybius [448] that the Rhodians bought from the Sinopians, when the latter were invaded by Mithridates in Olymp. 179. 4., for the sum of 140,000 drachmas 10,000 casks of wine, 300 talents of prepared hair, a hundred talents of prepared strings, a thousand complete suits of armour, four catapults with darts and attendants, and 3000 gold coins. Whence it is easy to perceive that this could only have been possible in case the price of wine did not exceed that which has been above mentioned. According to the grammarians a tricotylus of wine, i. e. three cotylas, was sold at an obolus [449]; which gives for the metretes eight drachmas. This therefore was either of a superior sort, or it only appears dearer because the retail-dealers (κάπηλοι) who sold it by the obolus, added considerably to the price. On the other hand there were also very costly wines; for example the Chian wine, as early as in the time of Socrates, sold for a mina the metretes [450]. Oil, although it was produced in large quantities in Attica, Asia Minor, and the islands, appears to have maintained a higher price on account of the great demand for it in ancient times, for the purposes

[447] Athen. IV. p. 129. D. to omit other passages concerning the goodness of this wine.

[448] IV. 56.

[449] Schol. Aristoph. Thesmoph. 750. and Hesych. in v. τρικότυλος. J. Capellus de Mensur. II. 43. finds a still higher price in Pollux IV. 169. according to which three choeis cost four drachmas, and consequently the metretes sixteen drachmas; but his supposition rests upon an alteration in the text, which cannot be assumed.

[450] Plutarch. de Anim. Tranquil. 10.

of light, for dressing meat, and for the gymnasia; yet as regards the Greeks I have only been able to find a single statement of its price, and this is given in the second book of the Œconomics attributed to Aristotle[451], where it is stated that the chus of oil was sold at Lampsacus for three drachmas, and afterwards that a duty was laid upon it equal to half its price, which raised it to four and half drachmas; consequently the metretes without the duty was at 36 drachmas; which indeed as compared with modern prices is a low rate. Salt, which was measured by phormi, or by medimni and chœnices[452], was easily imported into Athens on account of her dominion of the sea; and as long as Nisæa in Megaris was in the hands of the Athenians, it was brought over from thence with the greatest facility[453]. Besides this there were salt springs in Attica itself, opposite Gephyra on the other side of the Cephisus, and salt-works upon the seashore[454]; I have not however found any thing with regard to the price of salt,

[451] II. 2. 7. The duty was laid upon wine, corn, and other commodities at half their price; but in the part where the duty upon oil should be stated there is an hiatus in the text. It is evident that the chus of oil, after the addition of the duty, was sold for 4½ drachmas: but that the duty upon the chus was only three oboli, as Camerarius gives it in his translation, is an arbitrary assumption. The whole context confirms the supposition, that a duty equal to half the former price was also laid upon oil. I therefore restore καὶ τοῦ ἐλαίου, τὸν χοᾶ ὄντα δραχμῶν τριῶν πωλεῖν τεττάρων καὶ τριωβόλου, and the price in the text is given according to this hypothesis.

[452] Poll. X. 169. from the Demioprata, Aristoph. Acharn. 814. (See also Aristot. H. A. VIII. 10. Eudem. Eth. VIII. 2.)

[453] Aristoph. Acharn. 760. with the Scholiast and Commentators.

[454] See the Piræean Inscription in Chandler II. 110.

except that the Athenians once endeavoured to lower it by a decree of the people[455]. As to the supply of wood, we may observe that the Athenians were forced to import large quantities of timber, particularly for the uses of shipbuilding, from distant countries, especially from Macedonia[456]; even palisades and props for the mines were brought by sea[457]; small wood for burning they had in plenty, particularly beech-wood, from which charcoal was made, a business in which the Acharnians were chiefly engaged[458]. Charcoal, firewood, and faggots were brought into the city in baskets, carried either by men or on asses[459]; thus Phænippus sent to Athens every day from his boundary-estate in Cytheron six asses laden with wood, which produced each day twelve drachmas[460], whence an ass's load may be estimated at two drachmas.

(17.) The meals of the Athenians, which were called μιχροτραπεζοι, were for the most part scanty, and had little that was agreeable[461]. But although the ordinary fare was not very expensive, the great banquets with ointments, female players upon the flute and cithara, Thasian wine, eels, cheese, honey, &c. were by no means cheap; "they cost at least," says Menander, "a small talent." In the Flatterers of Eupolis a repast of this kind is reckoned at

[455] Aristoph. Eccles. 809. and Scholiast.

[456] Thucyd. IV. 108. Xenoph. Hell. VI. 1. 4. Demosth. in Alexand. περὶ συνθηκῶν p. 219. 4. cf. in Timoth. p. 1192. 1. p. 1195. 1.

[457] Demosth. in Mid. p. 568.

[458] Aristoph. Acharn.

[459] Poll. VI. 111. VII. 109.

[460] Orat. in Phænipp. p. 1041. 3.

[461] See the comic poet Antiphanes ap. Athen. IV. p. 131. E. Lynceus ibid. F. Alexis ibid. p. 137. D.

a hundred drachmas, and the wine at the same sum [462]; an expence sufficiently great for Athens, though little in comparison with the extravagance and debauchery of the kings. Alexander's table for sixty or seventy persons cost a hundred minas a day [463]. Every thing eaten, with the exception of what was prepared from corn, was originally comprehended under the name of Opson (ὄψον, ὀψώνιον); Plato expressly comprises under it salt, olives, cheese, onions, cabbage, figs, myrtle-berries, walnuts, and pulse [464]; and it is evident that roots such as radishes, turnips, &c. and all preparations of meat and fish, were also included; but by degrees the usage of this word was changed, so that at length it signified only fish, the favourite food of the Athenian epicures [465]. The slave in Terence buys cabbage and little fish for an old man's meal at an obolus [466], but according to Theophrastus [467] a miser would have been disgraced by allowing his wife only three chalcûs for opson; three oboli appear to have been sufficient for a few moderate persons to buy the opson uncooked [468]; hence Lysias [469] thinks that a guardian's charge of five oboli for the opson of two boys and a little girl was excessive. Three oboli were not sufficient to procure opson for so expensive a person as Aristippus [470], and ten drachmas

[462] Poll. IX. 59.

[463] Athen. IV. p. 146. C.

[464] Athen. VII. p. 277. A. Plat. de Rep. II. p. 372. C. cf. Xenoph. Œcon. 8. 9.

[465] Athen. VII. p. 276. E.

[466] And. II. 2. 32.

[467] Char. 28.

[468] Thugenides (not Thucydides) ap. Poll. VI. 88.

[469] In Diogit. p. 905.

[470] Diog. Laert. in Vit. Aristipp.

appear to the slave in Terence[471] to be very inadequate for a marriage-feast. The following are particular statements of prices, of which however some are inaccurate. Four small pieces of dressed meat cost an obolus according to Antiphanes; a piece of meat, as it was prepared for eating, probably of a tolerable size, half an obolus according to Aristophanes[472]. In the Comic Poet Aristophon[473] a landlord appears to receive five chalcus for some small livers and an intestine, probably a sausage; perhaps the same sum from several persons who dined together. A partridge, for which any other person would have given an obolus, Aristippus is said to have bought for 50 drachmas[474]; one extreme is as incredible as the other. A dish of Bœotian fieldfares for a festival is sold for a drachma in Aristophanes; seven maize-thiefs, birds which in places where they are abundant are usually very cheap, were not considered dear at an obolus[475]; and I may also mention, that in the Athenian bird-market, a jackdaw was sold for one obolus and a crow for three[476]. Of fish Athens had a superabundance, and the smaller varieties, which are nearly worthless in all countries that are copiously supplied with fish, bore, as may be supposed, a very low price. A species of small fish called membrades may be bought for four chalcus, but not eels or thunny-fish, says the comic poet Timocles[477]; of aphuas (ἀφύαι), which, according to Lucian, were ex-

[471] Andr. II. 6. 20.
[472] Antiphanes ap. Athen. IV. p. 431. E. Aristoph. Ran. 562.
[473] Pollux IV. 70.
[474] Diog. Laert. ubi sup.
[475] Aristoph. Acharn. 960. Av. 1079. with the Scholiast.
[476] Aristoph. Av. 18.
[477] Ap. Athen. VI. p. 241. A.

ceedingly small and light, a large quantity could be bought for an obolus; their cheapness is particularly mentioned. The sausage-seller in Aristophanes promises to offer up a thousand goats to Artemis Agrotera (outbidding in jest the offering of thanks for the battle of Marathon), whenever a hundred trichides, likewise a small kind of fish, are sold for an obolus [478], which was therefore an impossibility. Larger and better fish bore a higher price, and the fishmongers were decried as a shameless and avaricious race; for a sea-polype they asked four oboli, for a cestra (probably a kind of pike) eight oboli, for two cestreis (*mugiles*) ten oboli, for which eight were offered; for a sea-wolf (λάβραξ) a fishmonger asked ten oboli, without fixing in what currency; but when it comes to paying, says Diphilus, he had meant Æginetan oboli [479]. A dish of echini cost when dressed eight oboli, according to the comic poet Lynceus [480]. Eels, particularly those that came from the lake Copais, were a favourite dish of the Athenians, and as well as poultry and birds, were brought from Bœotia [481]. A Copaic eel cost three drachmas in the time of Aristophanes [482]. Salted or pickled provisions (τάριχος) particularly fish, were brought from the Pontus, Phrygia, Egypt, Sardinia, and Cadiz [483], and were very abundant at Athens, in different degrees of goodness; the common sorts were considered as inferior to meat, and were the food of the lower classes and of the country people, according to

[478] Lucian. Piscat. 48. Aristoph. Eq. 646, 660.

[479] Athen. VI. p. 224. C. to p. 227. B.

[480] Ap. Athen. IV. p. 132. B.

[481] Aristoph. Pac. 1005. and the Scholiast; also Schol. Lysist. 703. Poll. VI. 63. Aristophanes in the Acharnenses.

[482] Aristoph. Acharn. 961.

[483] Poll. VI. 48.

Demosthenes and Aristophanes—as the proverb says, the pickle often cost one obolus, but the sauce two[484]. The comic poet Philippides[485] reckons a dish of pickles for one person at two or three oboli, and the capers for it in a separate vessel at three chalcus. It is hardly worth mentioning that vegetables, such as cabbages, &c. were sold at a cheap rate; of leguminous plants the same may be concluded from an expression of Demosthenes[486], who, in order to point out the great increase of prices, says, "you know that even vetches were dear." Beans, which were eaten out of the shells as a remedy against drunkenness, were, according to the statement of Timocles, who perhaps exaggerates in joke, so dear that eight pods were sold for an obolus, although they always used to be sold by the chœnix[487]. A chœnix of olives in the time of Socrates sold for two chalcus, the cotyla of Attic, that is of the best honey, cost five drachmas[488]. The warm beverage, which the ancients drank instead of tea, cost a chalcûs according to Philemon[489].

[484] Ὀβολοῦ τάριχος, δυ' ὀβολῶν τάρτύματα, Michael Apostol. XIV. 9.

[485] Ap. Athen. VI. p. 230. A. At Rome in the time of Cato the elder, a hundred denarii, or, as Polybius usually says, drachmas, were given for a cask of pickles from the Pontus. See Polyb. XXXI. 24.

[486] In Androt. p. 598. 4.

[487] Timocles ap. Athen. VI. p. 240. E. Concerning their use see Alexis ap. Poll. VI. 45. and the Commentators; and for their measure see Inscript. 123. tom. I. p. 164. ed. Boeckh.

[488] Plutarch. de Animi Tranquil. 10. The expression of Aristophanes (Pac. 253.) that the Attic honey was worth four oboli, must be understood proverbially to mean something expensive and costly. See Schol. and Suid. in v. τετρώβολον and τεττάρων ὀβολῶν. Küster has misunderstood both passages.

[489] Ap. Poll. IX. 67. who (cap. 70.) correctly infers from the

(18.) The clothing of the Athenians varied considerably in materials, colour, and make, according to the time of year as well as the age, family, rank, property, taste, and object of the wearers; and fashion, although not so all-powerful as in modern days, had also its influence at that time. Woollen garments were the most common; although linen ones were worn, especially by women, and were at a low price, with the exception of the finest kinds[490]. The Amorgian stuffs were an expensive material, which were finer than Byssus and Carpasus, almost transparent, and sometimes dyed; they are said to have derived their name from the island Amorgus, where they were best manufactured; although others derive it from the dye or the plant (ἀμόργη), from which latter word the island itself probably received its name[491]. Even woollen garments, if the material and wearing were of superior quality, as the Persian Caunace for example[492], were sold at a high price. The prices which I have met with are as follows: Socrates, as stated by Plutarch[493], considers an Exomis (a dress worn by the common people) to be cheap when sold at Athens for ten drachmas. This was a garment with one sleeve, the other arm being left bare. A Chlamys, the

lowness of the price that water for drinking and not for bathing is meant. The words of Philemon are, χαλκοῦ θερμὸν ἦν, in the reckoning of a guest with his landlord. The preceding words in this corrupt passage, καὶ μάλα τριημιωβολιαῖ, ἐστὶ, refer to the other articles furnished to the guest.

[490] Vid. Pseudo-Plat. Epist. XIII. p. 363. A.

[491] They were called ἀμοργίδια, ἀμοργίδες, χιτῶνες ἀμόργινοι. See concerning these Aristoph. Lysistrat. 150. and Schol. Lysistrat. 736. Schol. Æschin. p. 737. Reiske, Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. Poll. VII. 57. 74. Harpocrat. Hesych. Suid. Etymol.

[492] Aristoph. Vesp. 1132, 1140.

[493] Ubi sup.

usual dress of the knights and young men, of Macedonian and Thessalian origin [494], is called τριστάτηρος in Pollux [495], by which doubtless the weight is not meant, but that its value amounted to three silver staters, or twelve drachmas. A citizen in the Ecclesiazusæ of Aristophanes [496], who appears without any upper garment, his wife having already gone with it to the assembly, declares, that since the preservation of the State is to be the subject of debate, he himself is in want of a *preservation of four staters* (σωτηρίας τετραστατήρου); in this instance no one can doubt, with Pollux [497] whether the coin or the weight is meant, as it is evident that sixteen drachmas, the price of the upper garment, are alluded to. When the young man in the Plutus [498] requires twenty drachmas from his aged mistress for an upper garment, it is possible that he intended to make her pay for an expensive one. Socrates mentions that purple was sold for three minas, quoting it as an example of the increased dearness of articles of luxury at Athens [499]; it may be doubted whether by this he means a garment or a certain measure of dyed cloth; in my opinion the former is the right supposition: it is well known that the garments made of the Byssus which grew in Achaia were weighed against gold [500]. In the article of shoes great luxury was displayed; Laconian, which were the dress

[494] Poll. VII. 46. X. 124. and the note of Hemsterhusius, also X. 164. Ammonius in v. χλαμὺς and Strabo ubi sup. Dorvill. ad Charit. p. 433. ed. Leips.

[495] VI. 165.

[496] Vs. 413.

[497] IX. 58.

[498] Vs. 883.

[499] Ap. Plutarch. ubi sup.

[500] Plin. Hist. Nat. XIX. 4.

shoes of men, Sicyonic, Persian, Tyrrhenian, Scythian, Argive, Rhodian, Amyclæan, Thessalian, and Thracian shoes, with several others, occur in the different provinces of Greece; and like our fashion of calling trifling things after celebrated names[501], so they had various kinds of shoes named after distinguished persons, such as Alcibiadean, Iphicratean, &c.[502] A pair of Sicyonic woman's shoes cost two drachmas according to Lucian[503]; for a pair of man's shoes the above-mentioned youth in the Plutus of Aristophanes[504] requires eight drachmas, which is comparatively high, and either too high a price is supposed to be given, or it was for some very expensive and ornamented kind. Ointment is among the dearest articles of ancient times. A cotyla of fine ointment, probably from the East, cost at Athens, according to Hipparchus and Menander[505], from five to ten minas. The interlocutor in the comic poet Antiphanes is not satisfied with moist ointment at two minas the cotyla[506]. It is manifest that the Athenians, although they were much addicted to the use of ointments, and every thing contributing to the refined enjoyments of life, could not have easily afforded to pay so high a price. It is therefore probable that for the most part they made use of inferior sorts; of such ointment perhaps as occurs

[501] Aristophanes passim, and particularly Pollux VII. 85—89.

[502] Ἀλκιβιάδεια or Ἀλκιβιάδες (ὑπόδημα), Ἰφικρατίδες, Δεινιάδες, Σμινδυρίδεια, Μυναίκια. See Pollux ubi sup. with his Commentators, Athen. XII. p. 534. C. Schol. Lucian. Dial. Meretr. The Iphicratean were not however a mere variety of fashion, but an improved kind of shoes for the soldiers.

[503] Dial. Meretr. 14.

[504] Vs. 984.

[505] Ap. Athen. XV. p. 691. C.

[506] Ap. Athen. ibid.

in Lucian, a small alabaster-box of which, brought from Phœnicia, was sold for two drachmas[507].

(19.) A knowledge of the prices of different kinds of furniture, implements, arms, and ships, would not be unimportant for the determination of many questions. The ancient writers however afford but few data, and of those which we have some are too high, to be looked upon as the customary prices, although it is probable that, notwithstanding the low rate of wages and the existence of slavery, the manufacturers on account of the high rate of interest obtained a large profit, which raised the price of certain commodities. Passing over the works of art, the value of which was only determined by the taste of the purchaser, I adduce the following examples. A little cart for a child's plaything, cost an obolus according to Aristophanes, and a small oil-flask (ληκύθιον) the same sum, an earthen cask three drachmas[508]; a sideboard (ἐγγυθήκη) decorated with brazen figures of satyrs and heads of oxen[509], not particularly well executed, thirty drachmas; a small two-wheeled chariot for racing, probably with many ornaments of ivory, brass, silver, &c. in the same manner that the ancients used them upon beds and other kinds of furniture[510], together with the wheels, cost two minas[511]. The price of a scythe or sickle (δρέπανον) in time of peace is evidently exaggerated in joke by Aristophanes[512], who supposes fifty drachmas to be given for

[507] Ubi sup.
[508] Aristoph. Nub. 861. Ran. 1267. Pac. 1201.
[509] Lysias Fragm. p. 15.
[510] Plutarch. de vitando ære alieno 2, 3.
[511] Aristoph. Nub. 31.
[512] Pac. 1200.

it. A private key together with the ring cost in the same age three oboli, a magic ring a drachma[513]. A small book for an agreement (γραμματίδιον), i. e. a small ordinary wooden diptychon with two wax tablets, Demosthenes values at two chalcus[514]. It is well known that the assize price of a rope, even if a man used it for hanging himself, was an obolus[515]. Arms and armour cannot have been cheap; in the time of war when the demand was considerable, ten minas were, according to Aristophanes (who probably mentions the highest rate), the price of a coat of mail of good workmanship and fastened with metal chains (ἀλυσιδωτός); one mina, as it appears, for a helmet; and sixty drachmas for a war-trumpet[516]. For determining the expences of the marine it would be particularly desirable to know the prices of articles employed in ship-building, but very little definite information can be gathered from the passages of ancient writers. A piece of wood for making an oar (κωπεὺς) cost, according to Andocides[517], five drachmas; Lucian, who both from the lateness of the period at which he lived and the bent of his writings cannot be sufficient evidence, supposes the fraudulent god Mercury in a reckoning with Charon to ask five drachmas for an anchor for Charon's boat, which to the covetous ferryman appears a large sum; for the thong with which the oar was fastened on (τροπωτὴρ), two oboli; for a needle

513 Aristoph. Thesm. 432. Plut. 885.

514 Demosth. in Dionysod. p. 1283. 4. cf. Salmas. de M. U. X. p. 403.

515 Lucian. Timon. 20.

516 Aristoph. Pac. 1223. and the Schol. 1250. and 1240.

517 De suo Reditu p. 81. Reiske (Ind. Andoc.) falsely understood κωπεὺς to mean a rower. The next passage is Lucian. Dial. Mort. 4.

to sew together the sail cloth, five oboli; for pitching-wax, nails, and cords for the sail-yard, altogether two drachmas. The cost of a whole ship as compared with its size it is not now possible to ascertain. In a bond of bottomry in Demosthenes[518], three thousand drachmas are lent upon a merchant-vessel, by which however we are not justified in assuming that the ship had not a greater value, as at Athens a double pledge was not unfrequently given in case of bottomry, and therefore its real value might have been as much as a talent. Nor could the cost of a trireme or the common ship of war, without its furniture, have been much greater, as labour could be procured at a low rate, and ships were easily built; for which reason they did not last long, but were frequently wrecked when out at sea, and were shattered to pieces in battle. A calculation has been made from accounts of the expences of the trierarchy, that it cost a talent to build the hull of a trireme, but it is founded upon an erroneous supposition; another means of determining the price might have been derived from the account of Themistocles having built 100 or 200 triremes from the annual proceeds of the mines; but neither can the annual returns of the mines nor the number of years be ascertained with certainty: the statement of Polyænus that a ship was built for every talent which was allowed, is after all the most probable[519]; but it was perhaps only a contribution granted to the trierarchs, who according to the most ancient form of the trierarchy were obliged to supply all the furniture of the vessel, and

[518] In Dionysod. p. 1283. 18.

[519] See my Memoir upon the Mines of Laurion. According to Diodorus (see below II. 20.) there were perhaps twenty triremes built every year.

were only indemnified for the building of the hull. Subsequently however, on account of the general rise of prices, a trireme may have stood a little higher: would that instead of the fictitious sale of the triremes for fifty drachmas, at which the Corinthians once furnished some vessels to the Athenians[520], we had a statement of their real value!

(20.) From the preceding particulars, it is possible very nearly to determine the sum which was requisite for the maintenance of a respectable person in the best times of Athens. The most moderate person required every day for opson one obolus, for a chœnix of corn, according to the price of barley in the age of Socrates, a quarter obolus, making altogether in a year of 360 days, 75 drachmas; and for clothes and shoes at least 15 drachmas; a family of four adults must therefore at the lowest have required 360 drachmas for the specified necessaries; which sum for the age of Demosthenes, when the price of corn was five drachmas, must be increased by about 22½ drachmas for each person, and for four persons by about 90: to this the expence of house-room is to be added, which, if we reckon the value of a house at the lowest at three minas, taking the ordinary rate of interest of twelve per cent, gives an outlay of thirty-six drachmas; so that the poorest family of four free adults spent upon an average from 390 to 400 drachmas a year, if they did not live upon bread and water. Socrates had two wives, not indeed at the same time, as has been fabulously reported, but one after the other; the first was Myrto, whom he married poor, and probably without a dowry; the second Xanthippe; he had three children, of whom Lamprocles at

[520] Herod. VI. 89.

the death of his father had reached the age of manhood, while Sophroniscus and Menexenus were minors[521]; for himself, after having sacrificed his youth to unceasing endeavours after knowledge, he followed no profession, and his teaching did not produce any pecuniary return. According to Xenophon[522], he lived upon his own property, which if it had found a good purchaser (ὠνητὴς), would together with the house, have readily produced five minas; and he only required a small contribution from his friends: whence it has been inferred that prices were most extraordinarily low at Athens. It is however evident that Socrates and his family could not have lived upon the proceeds of so small a property; for, however miserable his house may have been, it cannot be estimated at less than three minas, so that even if the furniture is not taken into consideration, the rest of his effects only amounted to two minas, and the income from them according to the ordinary rate of interest to only 24 drachmas, from which he could not have provided barley for himself and his wife, not to mention the other necessaries of life and the maintenance of his children. Shall we then understand the expression "purchaser (ὠνητὴς)" of a lessee of his property, and five minas as the annual rent? This way of avoiding the difficulty would be the easiest; but the ancients, as far as I am aware, only use the word "to buy (ὠνεῖσθαι)" instead of "to let," as applied to the public revenues, the letting of which was a real sale of the dues belonging to the State; for a lease of the lands or the whole

[521] Plat. Apol. 23. and there Fischer.

[522] Œcon. 2. According to Meursius, who has been transcribed by later writers, he lived upon it very respectably (perhoneste)! See Fort. Att. IV. p. 30.

property (οἶκος) of an individual to a tenant, the expression μισθοῦν is used; and, moreover, a lease of the whole property never occurs, as far as I am aware, except in the case of the estates of orphans. In addition to this, the fortune of Critobulus is valued at more than 500 minas, in the same sense as that of Socrates is at five, with the remark that it came to the same thing, as he supplied great sacrifices, entertained guests, feasted and maintained many citizens, kept horses, performed public liturgies, and subjected himself to other expences besides the maintenance of his wife, things which, with an income of 8⅓ talents, he would have been undoubtedly able to afford, but not with only a property of that amount. We must therefore believe that Xenophon stated the whole property of Socrates at only five minas, but we have equal right to reject as to receive this testimony; for the history of the ancient philosophers is so corrupted and mixed with fables, and the circumstances of their lives have been so differently represented even by contemporary writers, that one seldom treads upon firm ground. Thus in the Apology of Plato, Socrates is represented as saying that he need not have given more than a mina of silver for his release; in which account Eubulides also agreed: according to others he estimated the whole cause at 25 drachmas; and in the Apology for Socrates attributed to Xenophon, it is related that he had neither valued his lawsuit himself, nor would allow it to be valued by his friends[523]! Thus the well-informed Demetrius of Phalerum maintained, in opposition to Xenophon, that Socrates had, besides his house, seventy minas lent out to Criton upon interest; and Libanius relates that he had lost eighty minas, which were left him by his father, through a friend who had

[523] Plat. Apol. 28. Diog. Laert. II. 41. Xenoph. Apol. 23.

failed in his business, whom we can by no means suppose with Schneider to have been the wealthy Crito[524]. But assuming Xenophon's account to be entirely correct, it must be thought that the mother of the young sons maintained herself and two children either by her labour or out of her dowry, while Lamprocles supported himself, and that the domestic economy for which Socrates was so celebrated, consisted in keeping his family at work. He may in that case, indeed, have lived upon his 24 drachmas, together with some additional contributions from his friends; for his necessary expences were exceedingly small. It is true that he is related to have often sacrificed at home and upon the public altars[525], but, doubtless only, baked animals, according to the custom of the poor, together with loaves of bread, which were mostly consumed with the meat, and to which his family also contributed; he lived in the strictest sense upon bread and water, except when he was entertained by his friends; and therefore he may have been much rejoiced, as he is said to have been, at barley being sold at the low price of a quarter obolus the chœnix[526]: he wore no under-garment; and his upper-garment was slight, the same for summer and winter; he generally went barefooted, and his dress-shoes which he sometimes wore, probably lasted him his whole life. A walk before his house served him instead of opson for meals; in short no slave lived so poorly as he did[527]. His greatest expence was

[524] Demetrius ap. Plutarch. Aristid. l. where τὴν οἰκίαν should resume its place in the text for Reiske's γῆν οἰκείαν; Liban. Apol. vol. III. p. 7. Schneider ad Xenoph. ubi sup.

[525] Xenoph. Mem. Socrat. init.

[526] See Plutarch and Stobæus in the passages quoted in chap. 15.

[527] Xenoph. ut sup. I. 5. 2. Plat. Conviv. p. 174. A, Athen.

unquestionably the drachma which he gave to Prodicus; and without disparaging the greatness of his intellectual powers, it may be boldly asserted, that as far as his miserable condition and a certain resemblance to the habits of the Cynic philosophers are concerned, the representation of Aristophanes is not only not exaggerated, but is faithfully copied after the life.

If in the time of Socrates four persons could live upon 440 drachmas, they must have passed a very wretched existence, and to live respectably it was necessary even then, and still more in the time of Demosthenes, to be possessed of a larger income. According to the speech against Phænippus, the plaintiff and his brother inherited from their father 45 minas, upon which the orator says it was not easy to live[528], that is upon the interest, which according to the common rate, amounts to 540 drachmas. Isæus in his speech upon the estate of Hagnias[529] relates, that Stratocles and his brother had inherited an estate from their father, which was indeed too inconsiderable to oblige them to the performance of liturgies, but sufficient for their maintenance: now since the property of Stratocles amounted at his death to five and a half talents, besides

IV. p. 157. E. Many persons used to go barefooted, even the wealthy and distinguished Lycurgus (see Lives of the Ten Orators).

[528] P. 1045. 17.

[529] P. 292. where read εἶναι μὲν ἱκανὰ, λειτουργεῖν δὲ μὴ ἄξια, as Reiske proposed, with the addition however of another unhappy conjecture. Οὐχ ἱκανὰ is manifestly corrupt, in the first place because it ought to be μὴ, and not οὐ, and in the second, because it would be absurd to remark, that his property was *indeed* not sufficient to live upon, *but* too inconsiderable for the performance of liturgies.

his wife's dowry of twenty minas, which cannot be reckoned into his legacy, and since out of this sum he had acquired either by subsequent inheritance or his own exertions the sum of four talents 44 minas, his patrimony amounted to 46 minas, which according to the ordinary rate of interest afforded an income of five minas 52 drachmas a year, and at the rate of eighteen per cent at which he lent it out, eight minas 28 drachmas, and with the interest of the dowry reckoned at twelve per cent, ten minas 68 drachmas, an income which was amply sufficient to maintain him. Mantitheus, in a speech of Demosthenes[530], asserts that he had been supported and educated from the interest of his mother's dowry, which amounted to a talent, consequently according to the customary rate of interest, from 720 drachmas. The expences of Demosthenes himself when a youth, of his young sister and of his mother, amounted to seven minas a year, exclusively of the cost of house-rent, as they lived in their own house: but the cost of Demosthenes' education was not paid out of this sum, as it remained owing by the guardians[531]. After Lysias has finished speaking of the fraudulent account rendered by the guardian of Diodotus' children (who for example had charged more than a talent for clothes, shoes, and hair-cutting within eight years, and more than 4000 drachmas for sacrifices and festivals, and at the termination of his office would only surrender three minas of silver and 30 Cyzicenic staters)[532], he remarks[533], that "if he charges more than any person in the city ever did, for two boys and

[530] In Bœot. de Dote p. 1009. 28. p. 1023. 6.
[531] Demosth. in Aphob. I. p. 824. 26 sqq. p. 825. 5.
[532] In Diogit. p. 903. cf. p. 897. and p. 905.
[533] Ibid. p. 910.

a girl, a nurse and female servant, he could not reckon more than 1000 drachmas a year;" which would give not much less than three drachmas a day. This is equal to about two shillings and three pence in our money, a sum which certainly must appear too large for three children and two female slaves in the time of Lysias. In the age of Solon an obolus must have gone very far, for that legislator prohibited any woman from carrying with her upon any procession or journey more than would buy thus much of food, together with a basket which was more than an ell long[534]: and the Trœzenians appear to have made a liberal donation, when, according to Plutarch[535], they decreed to allow two oboli to every one of the old-men, women, and children, who had fled from Athens at the time of the invasion of Xerxes. But in the flourishing times of the State, one person could live but moderately upon two or even three oboli a day[536]; upon the whole however the cheapness and facility of living were considerable. From the piety of the Greeks towards the dead, the death of a man, with his funeral and monument, often cost more than many years of his life, for we find that private individuals frequently spent for that purpose as much as three, ten, fifteen, or even 120 minas[537].

[534] Plutarch. Solon. 21.

[535] Themistocl. 10.

[536] Lucian (Epist. Saturn. 21.) says, that in order to satiate one's self with maize or barley bread, together with a few cresses, some thyme, or a few onions, four oboli were wanting; which is the very sum that a miserly father gives to his son who has reached his eighteenth year, for his daily sustenance, in another place in the same author (Dial. Mort. 7.). This however cannot be applied to Athens and to ancient times.

[537] Lysias in Philon. p. 884. Pseudo-Plat. Epist. XIII. p. 361.

The national wealth of the Athenians, exclusive of the public property and the mines[538], I have estimated in a succeeding part of this work according to a probable calculation, at from 30 to 40 thousand talents; if of this only 20,000 talents are reckoned as property paying interest, each of the 20,000 citizens would have had the interest of a talent, or according to the ordinary rate of interest, an annual income of 720 drachmas, if property had been equally divided, which the ancient philosophers and statesmen always considered as the greatest good fortune of a State; and with the addition of the produce of their labour, they might have been all able to live comfortably. But a considerable number of the citizens were poor; while others were possessed of great riches, who from the lowness of prices and the high rate of interest were able not only to live luxuriously, but at the same time to accumulate additional wealth, as capital increased with extreme rapidity. This inequality destroyed the State and the morals of the inhabitants. The most natural consequence of it was the servility of the poor towards the rich, although they thought that they had the same pretensions as their superiors in wealth; and the wealthy citizens practised the same canvassing for popular favour, as was the custom at Rome, with different degrees of utility, or rather of hurtfulness. A citizen might perhaps adopt beneficial means for obtaining his end, as Cimon for example, the first man of his age, who, besides his great mental qualities, imitated Pisistratus in leaving his lands and gardens without any

E. Demosth. in Bœot. de Dote p. 1023. 22. Lysias in Diogit. p. 905. Demosth. in Stephan. I. p. 1124. 15.

[538] IV. 4.

keepers, and thus the produce of his farms and his house became almost the property of the public; he used also to provide cheap entertainments for the poor, to bury the indigent, to distribute small pieces of money when he went out, and to cause his attendants to change clothes with decayed citizens[539]. Yet these were the very means by which the sovereign citizens were reduced to a miserable state of beggary and dependance. Even this however might have been tolerable; but as every statesman had not the means of making such large outlays from his private fortune, and liberality to the people being necessary to purchase their favour, the distribution of money at the festivals, the payment of the soldiers, the Ecclesiasts, Dicasts, and senators, the costly sacrifices, and the Cleruchiæ, were introduced by the demagogues: the allies were compelled to try their causes at Athens, among other reasons for producing more fees to the Dicasts, and employment for the other citizens[540]: of every oppressive act committed against the allies, public crimes were the consequence, which the demagogues pretended that they were driven to by the poverty of the people[541]. And when the necessary consequence and punishment of their tyranny arrived in the defection of the allies, the helpless condition of the State had increased; for the multitude had forgotten their former activity, and been gradually accustomed to ease and refinement; no course therefore remained but to struggle to regain their former ascendancy. Add to this the envy which the poor entertained against the rich, and

[539] Theopomp. ap. Athen. XII. p. 533. A. Plutarch. Cimon. 10. partly from Aristotle, and Pericl. 9.

[540] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen.

[541] Xenoph. de Vectig. init.

the joy and readiness with which they divided their possessions, upon which, after bribery had been tried in vain, the whole rage of the multitude vented itself. Xenophon, in his treatise upon the Revenues, understood perfectly that it was necessary to promote the welfare of individuals: but, leaving out of the question the insufficiency of his proposals, Athens, even if her power in foreign parts could have been restored, was lost beyond all hope of recovery, as the minds of her citizens could not be so easily recalled to a state consistent with her desired prosperity.

(21.) From the extreme cheapness of the necessaries of life, the wages of labour must have been at a low rate in ancient times; and the number of competitors in the market for labour, among whom, besides the Thetes and the resident aliens, a large portion of slaves should be reckoned, must have contributed to produce a farther diminution[542]. In addition to the effect of competition, the gangs of slaves maintained by the wealthy essentially injured the profits of the poorer classes of citizens. And it was with justice that the Phocians, who are said to have subsequently prohibited the keeping of slaves, upbraided Mnason, who possessed more than a thousand, with keeping an equal number of citizens out of employment[543]. After the Peloponnesian war, even citizens who had been accustomed to live in a better condition of life—the struggle which it produced had been so great—maintained themselves by working for daily wages at any manual labour, as they had lost their foreign estates, rents had fallen as well from the scarcity of money, as from the decrease of the population, and loans were not to be procured[544]. I

[542] Cf. Xenoph. de Vectig. 4.

[543] Athen. VI. p. 264. C. cf. p. 272. B.

[544] Xenoph. Mem. Socrat. II. 7, 8.

have been able to find but few exact statements of the amount of wages of labour: Lucian states that in the age of Timon (provided he does not refer to earlier what really belongs to later times) four oboli were the daily wages for garden or field-labour upon a distant estate[545]; this same sum occurs as a porter's wages in Aristophanes, and of a common labourer who carried manure[546]. When Ptolemy sent 100 masons and 350 labourers to the Rhodians, in order to repair the damage caused by the earthquake, he gave them fourteen talents a year for opson, that is, three oboli apiece[547]; which, if they were slaves, was the expence of their maintenance, if free labourers, only a part of their wages, as a man required other things besides opson. The philosophers Menedemus and Asclepiades must have been powerful labourers in their youth, if they earned two drachmas a night for grinding in a corn-mill[548]. Particular services, which require a certain degree of compliance on the part of the labourers, received a higher recompense at Athens, as in all other great cities. Bacchus, in the Frogs of Aristophanes[549], wishes to have his bundle carried by a porter, who asks two drachmas for his trouble; but when the god offers the departed shade nine oboli, he declares that "rather than do this he would return to life again." If this dialogue in the region of shades is not a scene of real life, it has no point: a living porter at Athens was perhaps equally exorbitant in his demands, and if less was offered him, he might naturally answer that he would sooner die than do it. The fare

[545] Lucian. Timon. 6. 12.

[546] Aristoph. ap. Poll. VII. 133. and Eccles. 310.

[547] Polyb. V. 88.

[548] Phanodemus and Philochorus ap. Athen. IV. p. 168. A.

[549] Vs. 172 sqq.

paid for passages by sea was extremely moderate, particularly for long voyages; it cost two oboli to go from Ægina to the Piræeus; that is, for more than twenty-one miles; the fare from Egypt or the Pontus to the same port, more than 600 miles, for a man with his family and baggage, was at most two drachmas in the age of Plato; a proof that commerce was very profitable, so that it was not found necessary to require much from passengers. In the time of Lucian the fare from Athens to Ægina was four oboli[550]. The freight of timber appears to have been more considerable in a case mentioned by Demosthenes[551], in which 1750 drachmas were paid for a cargo from Macedonia to Athens: the immense corn vessel the Isis, which, in the time of the emperors, brought so much corn from Egypt to Italy, that it was asserted that one cargo would be sufficient for a year's consumption of all Attica, produced at the least twelve talents of freightage per annum[552]. The fulling of an upper garment cost three oboli[553]. Thirty drachmas were paid for engraving a decree of moderate size, if we may judge from the fragment that remains; 50 drachmas were assigned for engraving all the decrees of Lycurgus in the Archonship of Anaxicrates (Olymp. 118. 2.)[554], which can only be explained by supposing that the writing was for the most part very small.

[550] Plat. Gorg. §. 143. ed. Heindorf. Lucian. vol. III. p. 258. ed. Reiz.

[551] In Timoth. p. 1192. That only one cargo is meant is evident from the mention of only one captain, ibid. l. 24.

[552] Lucian. ut sup. p. 256.

[553] Aristoph. Vesp. 1123. cf. 1122.

[554] Marm. Oxon. XXIV. ed. Chandl. and in some unpublished inscriptions; third decree at the end of the Lives of the Ten Orators.

The great inscription which was first published by Barthelemy[555], is only 3′ 8″ 4‴ Paris measure high, 6″ 6‴ thick, the upper part, which contains an image in high relief, is 1′ 11″, the lower part upon which the writing is engraved, 2′ 4″ 6‴ wide. The whole inscription consists of only forty rows of letters, which are 3½ lines high, with spaces between the rows of two lines in height; so that the whole height of the inscription itself is 1′ 6″ 4‴. In addition to this we may notice the payments at the baths, which, according to Lucian, amounted to two oboli, although they cannot be considered solely as the wages of labour[556]. For the labour of plucking out the hair with pitch, in order to make the skin resemble that of a woman, a person is represented in Philemon as paying four men six chalcûs apiece, as it appears from a passage in Pollux[557]. It may be also observed the rich had private, and the people of Athens public baths[558].

The pay of the soldiers was different according to times and circumstances, and varied between two oboli, and two drachmas, the latter including the provision-money for an Hoplites and his attendant; the cavalry received from two to four times, officers generally twice, and generals only four times that amount: the provision-money was usually equal to the pay. A soldier could maintain himself sufficiently well for two or three oboli, especially as in many places living was much cheaper than at Athens; out of his pay he was to provide clothes and arms, after which a certain overplus remained, which, with

[555] The Choiseul inscription.

[556] Lexiphanes 2.

[557] IX. 66. and there Hemsterhuis.

[558] Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. 2. 10. see Barthél. Anach. tom. II. chap. 20.

the addition of plunder, might enable him to amass a decent fortune. This explains the meaning of the comic poet Theopompus[559], who says, that with a pay of two oboli a soldier could maintain a wife, and with four oboli his fortune was complete; where he means the pay alone without the provision. The pay of the Dicasts and Ecclesiasts amounted in its increased state to three oboli, and like the Theorica, only served as a contribution to the support of the citizens: the Heliast in the Wasps of Aristophanes[560] clearly shews the difficulty which there was in procuring bread, opson, and wood for three persons out of this allowance: clothes and house-room he does not reckon, as these he provided from his private property. The salaries of the senators and ambassadors were more considerable; the liberal arts and sciences were the most abundantly paid, although the rewards of those who administered to unlawful pleasure were scarcely inferior. The ancient states maintained physicians who were paid at the public cost[561]; thus, for example, Hippocrates is said to have been public physician at Athens: these again had attendants, for the most part slaves, who exercised their calling among people of low condition[562]. The celebrated physician Democedes of Croto received about the sixtieth

[559] Ap. Poll. IX. 64. where read with Kühn,

καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν εἰκὸς εἴη πράττοι τετρωβολίζων,
εἰ νῦν γε διώβολον φέρων ἀνὴρ τρέφει γυναῖκα.

[Porson Præf. Hec. p. 43. writes the last line, εἰ νῦν γ' ἀνὴρ διώβολον φέρει τρέφειν γυναῖκα. The correct reading probably is, εἰ νῦν γ' ἀνὴρ διώβολον φέρων τρέφει γυναῖκα.]

[560] Vesp. 299. cf. 699.

[561] Xenoph. Mem. Socrat. IV. 2. 5. Plat. Gorg. §. 23. Concerning the pay see Strab. IV. p. 125. Diod. XII. 13.

[562] Plat. Leg.

Olympiad, notwithstanding the small quantity of money then in circulation, the large salary of thirty-six Æginetan minas or of one Attic talent of silver: being invited to Athens, he received a hundred minas, until Polycrates of Samos gave him two talents[563]. It cannot be doubted that many artists of a different description were paid in a similar manner by the State, such as the head-architect at Rhodes and Cyzicus, and doubtless at every place of importance. The pay of musicians and actors was very considerable. Amœbeus, a singer in ancient Athens, received an Attic talent for each time that he appeared[564]; it is well known that the flute-players were very highly paid. In a Corcyræan inscription[565] of no great antiquity, 50 Corinthian or 83⅓ Attic minas, are fixed as the pay for three auletæ, three tragic, and three comic actors for a festivity, besides the large expences of their maintenance. Distinguished actor were not less highly paid, although they made considerable gains by travelling from place to place, when they were not employed at Athens[566]; thus, for example, Polus or Aristodemus is said to have gained a talent in two days, or even in one[567]. In like manner common strolling players, jugglers, conjurors, fortune-

[563] Herod. III. 131.

[564] Aristeas ap. Athen. XV. p. 623. D.

[565] Inscript. 150. tom. I. p. 231. ed. Boeckh.

[566] Cf. Demosth. de fals. Leg. and the second argument to this oration.

[567] Vit. X. Orat. p. 268. ed. Tübing. Gell. XI. 9. 10. Concerning the pay of the common actors at Rome, see Lipsius Exc. N. ad Tacit. Annal. I. It is difficult to believe that Demosthenes gave 10,000 drachmas to the actor Neoptolemus for teaching him to speak with long breath, as is stated in the Lives of the Ten Orators, p. 260.

tellers, &c. gained a competence by their callings, although the sum which one person paid was inconsiderable, for example, a chalcûs, an obolus, or sometimes a drachma[568]; apprentices' fees for instruction in trades and arts, including even that of medicine, had been introduced in the time of Socrates[569]. The tribes at Athens were bound to provide for a part of the instruction in music and gymnastic exercises, and they had their own teachers, by whom the youth of the whole tribe were instructed[570]; in the other schools each person paid, but how much we are not informed[571]: an exception was made to this rule by some enactments of Charondas, who is said to have appointed salaries for the grammarians, if the laws, from which Diodorus[572] took his account, are not fabrications. The teachers of philosophy and rhetoric, or the sophists, were not paid by the State till later times; at first however they obtained large sums from their scholars, the worthy successors of the mercenary lyric poets, whose inspiration was frequently the result of gold[573]. Protagoras of Abdera is

[568] Casaub. ad Theophrast. Char. 6. Lucian gives a good deal of information with regard to the fortune-tellers: the most remarkable instance of growing rich by this art occurs in Isocrat. Æginet.

[569] Plat. Menon. p. 90. B. sqq.

[570] Demosth. in Bœot. de Nom. p. 1001. 19.

[571] Demosth. in Aphob. I. p. 828.

[572] Diod. XII. 13. Although their spuriousness has been proved, yet every thing that occurs in them cannot be rejected as forged: the latter law however gives strong grounds for suspecting that it is later than the Alexandrian age.

[573] Many persons have treated of the pay of learned men. The most important particulars have been collected by Wolf (*Vermischte Schriften* p. 42 sqq.) without any parade of quotations.

said to have been the first who taught for money; and he received from his pupils a hundred minas for their complete education[574]: Gorgias[575] required the same sum, notwithstanding which he only left at his death a thousand staters[576]; together with Zeno of Elea[577], who was otherwise unlike the sophists. Instruction being obtained at so high a price, it is natural that competition should have arisen, and endeavours to agree for moderate terms; at which we who carry on the same trade with books, as they with their oral instruction, should be the last to be astonished. Hippias, while still a young man, together with Protagoras, earned in Sicily in a very short space of time a hundred and fifty minas, of which more than twenty minas came from one small town; and not as it appears by any long course of education[578]. By degrees however the number of teachers brought about a reduction of the price: Euenus of Paros, as early as in the time of Socrates, exposed himself to the ridicule of the multitude by taking only ten minas[579], for which sum also Isocrates taught the whole art of rhetoric[580];

[574] Quintil. Inst. Orat. III. 1. Gell. V. 10. Diog. IX. 52. and there Menage.

[575] Suidas, and Diod. XII. 53.

[576] Isocrat. de Antidosi p. 84. ed. Orell.

[577] Plat. Alcib. I. p. 119. A. The Scholiast of Aristophanes (Nub. 873.) states that the teachers would not have readily taken less than a talent: if any reliance is to be placed on this account, which is hardly necessary, it must be referred to the time of Socrates alone.

[578] Plat. Hipp. §. 5. For farther information concerning Hippias, see Suidas, Philostr. Vit. Soph. I. 1. 11. Apulej. Florid. p. 346. ed. Elm.

[579] Plat. Apol. Socrat. p. 20. B.

[580] Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 938. 17. Plutarch. in Vit. Demosth. and Vit. X. Orat. in Vit. Isocrat.

and this in the time of Lycurgus was considered as the common remuneration of a teacher of eloquence[581]. At last even the followers of Socrates were content to teach for money, Aristippus having, as it is said, been the first to set the example[582]. It may be also mentioned, that they used to receive money from each pupil for private lectures; thus Prodicus, for example, received from one, two, and four, to fifty drachmas[583]. Antiphon was the first person who wrote speeches for money, and he was paid highly for them[584]. I am almost ashamed to speak of the prices of intercourse with persons of both sexes, which, according to Suidas and Zonaras[585], were fixed by law: three chalcûs, one and two oboli, a drachma[586]; a stater with women of middling condition[587], but the price of a Lais was 10,000 drachmas for a night[588]. Other prices may be seen in Lysias[589], and the author of the epistles of Æschines[590].

(22.) The rate of interest in Greece was expressed either by the number of oboli or drachmas which were

[581] Vit. Dec. Orat. in Vit. Lycurg.

[582] Diog. II. 65. and there Menage, cf. 72, 74. He is said to have taken from 1500 to 100 drachmas, although others refer these accounts to Isocrates.

[583] Plat. Cratyl. init. Aristot. Rhet. III. 14. Philost. ut sup. 12. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 360. Suidas in v. Πρόδικον, Eudoc. Ion. p. 365.

[584] Van Spaan (Ruhnken) de Antiph. p. 809. tom. VII. of Reiske's Orators.

[585] In v. διάγραμμα.

[586] Hesych. in v. τριαντοπόρνη, Athen. VI. p. 241. E. Aristoph. Thesm. 1207. The *diobolares* are well known.

[587] Theopompus the Comic poet ap. Poll. IX. 59.

[588] Sotion ap. Gell. I. 8. 8.

[589] In Simon. pp. 147, 148.

[590] Pseud-Æschin. Epist. 7.

paid by the month for each mina that was borrowed, or by the part of the principal that was paid as interest either annually, or for the whole time of the loan. According to the first method of speaking, interest of ten per cent per annum, is called at five oboli (ἐπὶ πέντε ὀβολοῖς), of twelve per cent at a drachma (ἐπὶ δραχμῇ), of sixteen per cent at eight oboli (ἐπ' ὀκτὼ ὀβολοῖς), of eighteen per cent at nine oboli (ἐπ' ἐννέα ὀβολοῖς), and of 24 or 36 per cent at two or three drachmas (ἐπὶ δυσὶ, τρισὶ δραχμαῖς): according to the other method, the rates of the third, fifth, sixth, eighth, and tenth parts of the principal, either annually or for any specified term, are $33\frac{1}{3}$, 20, $16\frac{2}{3}$, $12\frac{1}{2}$, and ten per cent (τόκοι ἐπίτριτοι, ἐπίπεμπτοι, ἔφεκτοι, ἐπόγδοοι, ἐπιδέκατοι) [591]. Passages in the ancient writers leave no room for doubt that the expressions above-cited have the sense assigned to them; and in the first method of expression, the specified number of oboli and drachmas, was the amount of interest to be paid by the month, and in the other the portion of the principal was interest to be paid either annually, or in cases of bottomry for the time of the ship's passage specified in the agreement: some earlier writers however, whom Salmasius has already refuted with too great minuteness, have maintained the absurd notion, that the tenth, eighth, sixth, fifth, and third parts of the loan were interest to be paid monthly, or in agreements of bottomry even daily; nor can we feel otherwise than astonished to find Bar-

[591] The words ἐπίτριτος, ἐπιτέταρτος, &c. in the mathematical and musical writings of the ancients, signify $1\frac{1}{3}$, $1\frac{1}{4}$, &c. as the beginner may learn from my Memoir *über die Bildung der Weltseele im Timäos des Platon, Studien* 1817. part I. p. 50. that in the reckoning of interest they mean $\frac{1}{3}$, &c. has been already remarked by Salmasius de M. U. I. cf. Schneider ad Xenoph. de Vectig. p. 183.

thélemy[592], in contradiction to Petit, considering sixteen per cent as monthly interest. The main source of this error lies in the supposition, that all interest was paid by the month, which without doubt was frequently the case[593]: but not only is it impossible that in bonds of bottomry, the interest could have been paid monthly, as the borrower was neither able nor obliged to pay it until after his return; but even in debts of mortgage, the annual payment of interest was not uncommon[594]: nor if in ancient Greece, at all times, and in all places, interest had been paid by the month, would it follow from the names of the interest of the third, fifth, sixth, and eighth parts, that those portions of the principal were paid monthly, any more than at present, when it is paid quarterly or half yearly, it follows from the expression that a sum of money is lent at five per cent, that five per cent is to be paid every quarter or half year. We may also remark, omitting the agreements of bottomry, which did not exactly run a year, that the interest of the tenth part (τόκοι ἐπιδέκατοι) is the same as the interest of five oboli, of the eighth part (12½ per cent) nearly the same as the interest of one drachma (12 per cent), of the sixth part (16⅔ per cent) nearly the same as the rate at eight oboli (16 per cent), of the fifth part (20 per cent) nearly the same as the rate at nine oboli

[592] Anachars. tom. IV. p. 372.

[593] Aristoph. Nub. init. and 751 sqq.

[594] Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1225. 15. Inscript. ap. Montfaucon Diar. Ital. p. 412. Even when the rate of interest was fixed by the month, it might be paid by the year, as is evident from the above-quoted inscription. In the Orchomenian Inscription (Rose p. 263.) the rate of interest is also fixed by the month, but it did not necessarily follow that the money should therefore be paid every month.

(18 per cent), and of the third part (33⅓) as the rate of three drachmas (36 per cent): but the examples which will be presently quoted prove that they are not therefore to be taken as identical; and each expression must be understood precisely in its strict meaning as it stands, since the lenders would never have made use of indefinite expressions. It was not until the age of Justinian that the *Centesima*, which is exactly equal to the interest at a drachma, was identified with the interest of the eighth part (τόκος ἐπόγδοος) or 12½ per cent, as Salmasius correctly remarks; although he himself, in speaking of more ancient times, does not always accurately distinguish between the rates of interest which I have mentioned as only slightly differing.

From the preceding investigation into the method of expressing the rate of interest, it follows that in Greece interest was not so low as in modern States, and at Rome in the age of Cicero: the lowest rate at Athens appears to have been ten per cent, the highest thirty-six per cent; the latter is not exceeded by any examples of interest received upon bottomry, although these were in fact higher than they appear, since the time of a ship's voyage for which the money was generally lent, was shorter than a year. I can find no authority for the statement of Casaubon [595], that they sometimes obtained an interest of four drachmas a month, although usurers took without reserve as much as they could extort. Interest equal to half the principal (ἡμιόλιος τόκος), first occurs a considerable time after the Christian era in a case of a loan of products of the soil to be repaid in kind [596]. The cause of the high rate of

[595] Ad Theophrast. Char. 6.

[596] Salmas. de M. U. VIII.

interest can only be that it was then more difficult than now to procure a loan of money, or what is equivalent, that there was a greater demand for money to be borrowed, and a smaller quantity to be lent. But that in general, this circumstance was not owing to the insufficient quantity of money in circulation, appears to be evident from this, that in the case of the metallic circulation being too contracted, the demand for money would necessarily be diminished, on account of the fall in the prices of other commodities, and also from the fact, that landed estates bore a rent equal to eight per cent of their value, and even more than twelve per cent for the lease of the whole property[597]; so that the rate of interest does not appear to depend upon the quantity of money in circulation, but to have a common origin with rent. The chief reasons therefore why money was not willingly lent out at a low interest, appear to be, that any person who wished to carry on business with it himself, might obtain a high profit by employing it in commerce or manufactures[598], in the same way that any one who managed his own property himself, on account of the smaller expence of slave-labour, would necessarily have made a greater net profit than at the present time under a different combination of circumstances. Add to this that credit was at a low ebb, which was occasioned by the want of moral principles, and the imperfection of the civil constitutions and jurisdiction of the different States, and especially by the difficulty of obtaining restitution for injuries in a foreign country. Even the legislation of Solon, by which the rights of individuals were more accurately defined, struck at the root of the security of the

[597] See below chap. 24.

[598] See above chap. 9.

creditor, by taking away his right over the body of the debtor; and it was shewn by the measure called the Seisachtheia, how little respect the State had for the security of property, whether by this ordinance merely the value of the currency was depreciated, or the rate of interest also was diminished, or whether, in certain cases at least, a complete annihilation of all claims of debt was effected by it[599]; nor was the severity of the laws upon debt sufficient to produce any great security in the lending of money, as the administration of them was entrusted to ill-regulated courts of justice, and the fraudulent debtor had at his command every species of subterfuge and dishonest contrivance against the creditor. The business of the bankers[600] might lastly have contributed to raise the rate of interest, as these usurers took money at a moderate premium from persons who would not occupy themselves with the management of their own property[601], in order to lend it with profit to others, and thus to a certain degree obtained possession of a monopoly. Trading with borrowed money composed the chief part of the business of the bankers[602], although they sometimes employed capital of their own in that manner; the exchange of money at an agio[603] was by no means their exclusive employment. Although they were generally of a low

[599] See Plut. Solon. 14.

[600] Concerning which see particularly Salmasius de Fenore Trapezitico and de Usuris, and the acute Heraldus, Animadv. in Salmas. Obs. II. 24, 25.

[601] Thus e. g. Demosthenes' father kept a part of his capital in the hands of bankers, Dem. in Aphob. I. p. 816.

[602] Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 948. sup.

[603] Isocrat. Trapez. 21. Demosth. de fals. Leg. p. 376. 2. in Polycl. p. 1216. 18. Poll. III. 84. VII. 170.

origin, freedmen, aliens, or persons who had been admitted as citizens, they aimed less at connecting themselves with good families, than at pecuniary gain [604]; but they became possessed of great credit, which existed among the principal houses through the whole of Greece, and were thus effectively supported in their business [605]; they even maintained such a reputation, that not only were they considered as secure merely by virtue of their calling, but such confidence was placed in them, that business was transacted with them without witnesses [606], and as is now done in courts of justice, money and contracts of debt were deposited with them, and agreements were concluded or cancelled in their presence [607]. The importance of their business is shewn by the great wealth of Pasion, whose bank annually produced a net profit of a hundred minas [608]; there are however instances of their failing and losing every thing [609]. It is scarcely necessary to shew that they took a high rate of interest; their loans on the deposit of goods are without other testimony sufficient to prove it [610]. The Athenian bankers obtained thirty-six per cent, a rate which hardly occurs among honest people, except in the case of bottomry. The common usurers (τοκογλύφοι, *toculliones*, ἡμεροδανεισταὶ), who made a profit of the necessities of the poor or the extravagance of the young, demanded, according to the faithful description of Theo-

[604] Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 953.

[605] Cf. Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 958. sup. in Polycl. p. 1224. 3.

[606] Isocrat. Trapezit. 2.

[607] Demosth. in Callip. p. 1243. 8. in Dionysod. p. 1287. 20.

[608] Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 946. 25.

[609] Dem. pro Phorm. p. 959. in Stephan. I. p. 1120. 20 sqq. Ulpian ad Demosth. in Timocrat.

[610] Demosth. in Nicostrat. p. 1249. 10.

phrastus[611], as much as an obolus and a half a day for each drachma; and the practice which was prevalent in the times of Plutarch, of immediately subtracting the interest from the sum borrowed, and again lending it out upon interest[612], had probably arisen in the flourishing times of Athens. On account of this high rate of interest, and the severity with which they enforced the payment of it, frequently seizing the houses and property of their debtors, and as lenity was foreign to their character or indeed any other consideration but that of their own gain, the bankers, and money-lenders, like the Jews in modern times, drew upon themselves the merited hatred of all, as being the most infamous of human beings[613].

Money was lent without interest from motives of friendship or kindness, even without a written bond and any security or pledge, either with or without witnesses (χειρόδοτον, ἀσύγγραφον)[614]; sometimes with an acknowledgment (χειρόγραφον), which was usually written upon papyrus; or with a formal and solemn instrument (συγγραφή), which was written by a third person in a diptychon of waxen tablets, signed by witnesses, and given in charge to a banker[615]. The security was either made over to the creditor or not; in the latter case it was security in a more

[611] Char. 6. and there Casaubon; cf. Herald. Anim. in Salmas. Obs. ad I. A. et R. II. 21.

[612] Plutarch. de vitando ære alieno 4.

[613] Demosth. in Stephan. I. p. 1122. extr. and p. 1123. sup. in Pantæn. pp. 981, 982. Antiphanes the Comic poet in the Μισοπόνηρος ap. Athen. VI. p. 226. E. cf. Herald. ut sup. II. 24. 1, 2.

[614] Demosth. in Timoth. p. 1185. 12. Salmas. de M. U. X. p. 381.

[615] Salmas. ibid.

limited sense, in the former it was the pledge (ἐνέχυρον)[616]: the security in the more confined signification was generally of immoveable property, but sometimes of moveables, for instance, slaves, and especially in cases of bottomry, the goods, the ship, and the outstanding freightage-money; although the pledges were generally of moveable property, we sometimes find that immoveables, such as houses and lands, were given in pledge, and indeed, on account of their safety, were common for dowries and leases of orphans' property. To lend upon a person's own body (δανείζειν ἐπὶ σώματι) was prohibited in Athens from the time of Solon[617], in imitation, as Diodorus supposes, of the Egyptian law; in other States this cruel and barbarous custom remained in force, although it was not allowed to take even agricultural implements in pawn[618]. Arms could neither be taken or given in pawn at Athens[619]. There were also public books of debts in Greece, like the German registers of mortgages; but they are not mentioned as having existed at Athens. On the contrary, mortgaged lands were distinguished by stone tablets or pillars, upon which the debt and the creditor's name were inscribed (ὅροι)[620]: a custom of extreme

616 Salmas. ut sup. XI.

617 Diog. Laërt. and Plutarch in the Life of Solon, also the latter in his Essay de vitando ære alieno 4.

618 Salmas. ut sup. XVII. p. 749.

619 Petit Leg. Att. VIII. 1. 6.

620 Demosthenes in many passages, which have been collected by Reiske in the Index p. 544. Poll. III. 85. IX. 9. Etymol. and Harpocrat. in vv. ἄστικτον and ὅρος, Hesych. in vv. ὅρος and ὡρισμένη, Lex. Seg. p. 285. Photius in ὅρος in several articles. Cf. Salmas. ut sup. XV. They were στῆλαι, stone tablets or pillars; the Romans (see Vales. upon Maussac's notes to Harpocration) likewise used *tabulæ* of the same nature: at Athens however they appear not to have been of wood, although the Etymologist and Lex.

antiquity, which existed before the time of Solon, and of itself proves that by his constitution the stones which had been before standing upon all estates were removed, when he by some method or other released or relieved the debtors.

If the principal together with the security was not exposed to destruction, and the creditor according to his contract liable to no loss, the interest at least was certain, and was called land-interest or mortgage (τόκοι ἔγγυοι or ἔγγειοι)[621]. Neither the interest of money lent upon mortgage, of which I shall next speak, nor upon bottomry, were fixed by law; and even, if we suppose it to be true, as was affirmed by Androtion, that Solon lowered the interest of all debts which existed before his time, yet he permitted every person afterwards to lend his money at whatever rate he could obtain[622]; and only in the single instance of a man's separating from his lawful wife, and not returning her dowry, the rate of nine oboli (18 per cent) was fixed by law, probably because this was the ordinary rate at the

Seg. p. 192. 5. p. 285. 12. call them σανίδες according to a later custom, perhaps from a misapprehension of a passage in the first speech against Aristogeiton p. 791. 11. It should be observed, however, that it was by no means necessary to set up these stones, see Herald. Anim. in Salmas. Obser. ad I. A. and R. IV. 3. 8. (See a paper by the Author on this subject reprinted in the Museum Criticum, No. VIII. p. 622 sq.)

[621] See Salmas. ut sup. III. The manuscripts sometimes give the former word, which Salmasius declares to be the correct form, and sometimes the latter: both appear to have been in use, but where either is more correctly used, is not easy to determine.

[622] Τὸ ἀργύριον στάσιμον εἶναι ἐφ' ὁπόσῳ ἂν βούληται ὁ δανείζων. Lex ap. Lys. in Theomnest. p. 360. Στῆσαι then had the meaning of δανεῖσαι, from the money being weighed when it was lent; thence also the word ὀβολοστάτης. Orus ap. Etymol. in v. ὀβελίσκος.

time when this regulation was made[623]. Even in the age of Lysias and Isæus, this high interest was not usurious; the latter orator[624] relates it as an ordinary occurrence, that a person had lent forty minas at nine oboli, and had received from them a return of 720 drachmas a year; and Timarchus borrowed upon the very same terms[625]. The interest of eight oboli (16 per cent) occurs in Demosthenes[626]; the interest of a drachma (12 per cent), which is at the present day the common rate in the Levant, was frequent in the age of Demosthenes, but it was, as appears from the orator's own words, considered low, although a talent lent out at this rate would have produced an annual return of 720 drachmas, upon which a small family could live[627]. The interest of five oboli, or of the tenth part, was chiefly in use among friends[628], and is opposed to the interest of the third part; in a story related in Aristotle's Rhetoric of Mœrocles, who lived in the age of Demosthenes, it is considered as moderate[629]. From 12 to 18 per cent, appear then to

[623] Orat. in Neær. p. 1362. 9. Demosth. in Aphob. I. p. 818. 27. Cf. Salmas. de M. U. IV. p. 159.

[624] De Hagn. Hered. p. 293.

[625] Æsch. in Timarch. p. 127.

[626] In Nicostrat. p. 1250. 18.

[627] Demosth. in Aphob. I. p. 816. 11. p. 820. 20. p. 824. 22. II. p. 839. 24. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 497. Comp. Niebuhr Hist. Rom. vol. II. p. 436. In an inscription in Muratori vol. II. p. DLXXVIII. 1. ἑκατοστιαῖος τόκος is mentioned, evidently translated from *usuræ centesimæ*, and thus furnishes a means of determining the age of the inscription.

[628] Demosth. in Onetor. I. p. 866. 9.

[629] Aristot. Rhet. III. 10. with the slight alteration of Salmasius de M. U. II. p. 41. also in the spurious Œconomics of Aristotle 2, 3. ed. Schneid. ἐπιδέκατοι τόκοι occur on the occasion of

have been the commonest rates of interest at Athens; the only manner in which I can explain why Salmasius[630] considered the interest of the sixth part, or 16⅔ per cent, as the most usual at Athens, is, that he confuses this rate of interest with others of similar amount. Several examples of higher rates of interest occur. Demus, the son of the celebrated Pyrilampes, who had been sent as ambassador to Persia, offered to pawn a golden cup to Aristophanes for sixteen minas, which he had received from the king of Persia, and to redeem it in a short time for twenty[631]. Æschines, the Socratic philosopher, wishing to set up a manufactory of ointments, borrowed money of a banker at three drachmas (36 per cent), whereby he lost, until he procured the same sum from another person at nine oboli[632]. The rate of interest in other Grecian States was regulated in a similar manner. The Clazomenians paid the commanders of their mercenary troops four talents a year, as the interest of a debt of twenty talents at the rate of the fifth part (τόκος ἐπίπεμπτος)[633]. The rate of mortgage in the Bosporus was sometimes the sixth part (τόκος ἕφεκτος), at which Phormion, as mentioned in Demosthenes[634], pretended to have paid 560 drachmas for 120

a sequestration imposed by the Byzantines upon all vessels, which however must be not considered as a common occurrence.

[630] Ut sup. I. p. 10.

[631] Lys. pro Aristoph. bonis p. 629 sqq.

[632] Lys. Fragm. p. 4.

[633] See the Œconomics attributed to Aristotle.

[634] In Phorm. p. 914. 10. Concerning the ἕφεκτος τόκος comp. also Harpocration, Suidas, Photius, and Zonaras in v. ἕφεκτος τόκος. The account given by Photius in v. ἐφεκτοὺς τόκους, and by Lex. Seg. p. 257. is entirely devoid of sense, and is founded upon a false derivation, and a false accentuation, viz. ἐφεκτός.

Cyzicenic staters, each reckoned at 28 Attic drachmas, at $16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. In Orchomenus in Bœotia, interest occurs of several drachmas for a month; and in a Corcyræan decree it is ordered that certain monies shall not be lent out either at a higher or lower rate than at two drachmas a month (24 per cent)[635], where bottomry cannot possibly be meant. The Epobelia of Plato in his Treatise upon Laws[636] (according to which the taking of usury was to have been entirely forbidden in the second ideal State) is not a rate of interest, as some have supposed, but a fine, such as the Athenian epobelia, to be fixed like interest by the month; that is to say, if a person neglected to pay the wages of any servant for the space of a year, he was, as a punishment for his dilatory conduct, to pay the epobelia, or an obolus to every drachma, for each month of the time.

(23.) A still higher profit was obtained by capitalists, allowance being made for accidents, by sea-security (τόκος ναυτικὸς, ἔκδοσις)[637] or bottomry, in which, according to the Grecian custom, the ship, the cargo, or the money received for passengers and freightage, were answerable for the principal. The loan appears to have been most frequently made upon the goods (ἐπὶ τοῖς φορτίοις, ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν, ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμπορίᾳ), more rarely upon the vessel (ἐπὶ τῇ νηΐ, ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ), and the money received for passengers and for freightage (ἐπὶ τῷ ναύλῳ)[638]; in a case mentioned by Demo-

[635] See the inscriptions quoted in note 594.

[636] XI. p. 921. C. cf. V. p. 742. C. Salmas. de M. U. I. p. 12. Schneider ad Xenoph. de Vectig. p. 182.

[637] See Salmas. V. p. 19. Schneider ut sup. p. 181.

[638] Concerning the expressions in use see Schneider ut sup. p. 180. An instance of money being borrowed upon the freightage and the vessel occurs in Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 933. 22. and upon the freightage, as it appears, Diphilus in the passage

sthenes[639], in which a trierarch borrowed money upon a ship that belonged to the State, and to the command of which he expected a successor, it is probable that the only security given was the ship's furniture, which was the private property of the trierarch. This species of interest, which was so odious at Rome, does not appear to have given offence in Greece, and at Athens in particular as being a commercial town; it was however exposed to much risk, as the loss of the security also brought with it the loss of both principal and interest: agreements of bottomry, in which the creditor did not undergo the risk, were prohibited by the laws of Rhodes, that is, nobody could take such high interest as was customary in bottomry, without exposing himself to the danger of the loss: but since by the Athenian law, every person could take as high interest as he could obtain, this restriction was not met with at Athens; and such contracts as the Rhodian law prohibited, have no connexion with agreements of bottomry, as there would in those cases be either no security on one which was not at sea[640]. Agreements of bottomry were rendered binding by means of an instrument styled a

quoted below; and of money lent upon the vessel, Demosth. ibid. and in Dionysod. p. 1283. 18. comp. the argument p. 1282. 4. What proofs Hudtwalcker (*von den Diäteten* p. 140.) can bring in favour of his assertion, that at Athens, in cases of Fenus nauticum, the ship was always pledged, I am unable to guess. The contrary is indeed evident from the passages quoted by Schneider and myself.

[639] In Polycl. p. 1212 sup.

[640] Concerning the meaning of the Rhodian law, which Salmasius had not perceived, see Hudtwalcker *de Fenore Nautico Romano* p. 7.

nautical contract (ναυτικὴ συγγραφὴ)[641], which was deposited in the hands of a banker[642]. A document of this kind is preserved entire in the speech of Demosthenes against the Paragraphe of Lacritus, and part of another in the speech against Dionysodorus. The money was lent for a fixed time and for the voyage to a particular place or country, and the debtor was bound to go to the place pointed out in the agreement, subject to a heavy punishment for the violation[643]. If it was only lent for the voyage outwards (ἑτερόπλους), the principal and interest were to be paid at the place of destination, either to the creditor himself if he went the voyage, or to some other person commissioned to receive it; of this latter description was the Cermacoluthus, who was frequently sent with the ship[644]; if the contract was for the voyage both inwards and outwards (ἀμφοτερόπλους), the payment was made after the return. In these agreements there was generally a double security, the debtor being bound in goods to twice the amount of the loan, without being able to raise other money upon them[645]: and in agreements for voyages both inwards and outwards, if the goods given in security were sold, fresh commodities of equal value were to be reladen[646]. The severity of the laws against those who withdrew the security from a creditor, has been already remarked; but it was usual for a fine to

641 Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 932. 3. cf. Lex. Seg. p. 283. and others.

642 Demosth. in Phorm. p. 908. 20.

643 Demosth. in Dionysod. p. 1286 sup.

644 Demosth. in Phorm. p. 909. 24. p. 914. 28.

645 Demosth. in Phorm. p. 908 sqq. in Lacrit. pp. 925—928.

646 Demosth. in Phorm. p. 909. 26.

be also fixed in the agreements, if the debtor should not surrender the whole security, or act otherwise contrary to the conditions; for example, of twice the amount of the principal, or of 5000 drachmas in a loan of 2000[647]. Until the time of repayment the creditor was bound to leave the security untouched, if it was saved: and sometimes for greater security, even the whole property of the debtor was made answerable by a particular stipulation[648]. The money of orphans could not according to law be vested in bottomry, although this regulation was often violated[649]. As the hazard varied materially according to the length of the time, the distance of the voyage, the danger to which the vessels was exposed from storms, rocks, hostile fleets, pirates, or licensed privateers, it is less easy to conceive that there should have been an usual rate of interest in Greece for bottomry, than for the mortgage of land; and the assertion of Salmasius[650], that the rate of interest of the fifth part (20 per cent) was the most common at Athens, is entirely devoid of foundation. The interest upon money lent only for the voyage outwards, must moreover have been less than that for the two voyages inwards and outwards, particularly since passengers who accompanied the master of a vessel, carrying at the same time sums of money with them, would naturally be the more ready to lend it to the captain, as they must have

[647] Demosth. in Dionysod. p. 1294. 12. in Phorm. p. 915. 1. p. 916. 27.

[648] Deed in the Oration against Lacritus.

[649] Lys. Fragm. p. 37. Also the case in Lys. in Diogit. p. 908.

[650] De M. U. I. p. 10. V. p. 209. where his reference to Xenophon proves nothing.

still incurred nearly the same risk that arose from bottomry, if they took it with them without interest. The 10 or 12 per cent interest upon money lent in bottomry mentioned by Diphilus [651] must undoubtedly be understood only of the passage outwards; as also the interest of the 8th part (12½ per cent) in Demosthenes [652], which the trierarch Apollodorus

[651] In the passage which Salmasius quotes p. 35.

εἰς δέκ' ἐπὶ τῇ μνᾷ γενονέναι καὶ δώδεκα,
λαβὼν τὰ ναῦλα καὶ δάνει' ἐργυγράφων.

[652] Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1211. extr. *Εἰσαγγελθέντων δέ ὅτι Βυζάντιοι . . . ἀναγκάζουσι τὸν σῖτον ἐξαιρεῖσθαι, δανεισάμενος ἐγὼ ἀργύριον παρὰ Χαιρεδήμου μὲν τοῦ Ἀναφλυστίου πεντεκαίδεκα μνᾶς ἐπὶ τόκον, ἑπτακοσίας δὲ δραχμὰς παρὰ Νικίππου τοῦ ναυκλήρου ναυτικὸν ἀνειλόμην, ὃς ἔτυχεν ὢν ἐν Σηστῷ, ἐπώγδοον, καὶ πέμψας Εὐκτήμονα . . . ἐκέλευσά μοι αὐτὸν ναύτας μισθώσασθαι . . .* This is the old reading, except that I have restored *μνᾶς* for *δραχμὰς* from the manuscripts with Salmasius de M. U. V. p. 219. and Reiske; whether *Ἀρχεδήμου*, the reading of some manuscripts, and *ὀκτακοσίας*, which is approved of by Salmasius, should also be replaced, I leave undecided. *Ἀνειλόμην* is put by Anacoluthon for *ἀνελόμενος*, which is seldom used with *μὲν* and *δέ*: an instance however occurs in Herod. VI. 13. *ὀρέοντες ἅμα μὲν ἰοῦσαν ἀταξίην πολλὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων ἐδέκοντο, τοὺς λόγους, ἅμα δὲ κατεφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἀδύνατα τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα ὑπερβαλέσθαι, εὖ τε ἐπιστάμενοι . . .* which is precisely similar to the passage of Demosthenes; and as *κατεφαίνετο* might have been omitted in the former, so might *ἀνειλόμην* in the latter sentence. VI. 19. *ἐχρήσθη ἐπίκοινον χρηστήριον, τὸ μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀργείους φέρον, τὴν δὲ παρενθήκην ἔχρησε ἐς Μιλησίους.* Also VI. 25. ad fin. Similarly also in Herod. VIII. 69. *πρὸς μὲν Εὐβοίῃ σφέας ἐβιήλοκακέειν, ὡς οὐ παρεόντος αὐτοῦ, τότε δὲ αὐτὸς παρεσκευάστο θήσασθαι ναυμαχίοντας.* the transition from the indirect infinitive to the indicative. There are also other difficulties in this passage, which Salmasius and Reiske have been quite unable to clear up. The notes of the latter commentator are mere trifling, as he had throughout no distinct notion of the Greek system of interest.

lent to the ship-captain Nicippus, for the passage from Sestos to Athens, but upon the condition that the trireme should first go to Hierum to convoy vessels laden with corn, and that the principal and interest should be paid at Athens,

Ἐπὶ τόκον, for which Hier. Wolf wishes to substitute the more convenient expression of ἐπὶ τόκῳ, was thought too indefinite. Salmasius corrects ἐγγύῳ, and Reiske ἐγγείου τόκου, or ἐγγείων τόκων: if however these words refer at all to the rate of interest, one should rather expect some particular percentage than the generic term. Ὃς ἔτυχεν ὢν ἐν Σηστῷ cannot be referred to ναυτικὸν, the latter word being in the neuter gender, as in the parallel passage of Xenophon quoted below, Demosth. in Aphob. I. p. 816. 26. ναυτικὰ ἑβδομήκοντα μνᾶς, and elsewhere. But Salmasius' improbable conjectures, ὃ and ὃν, are the less admissible, because it cannot be supposed that there was some one rate of interest in general use at Sestos, without any distinction of the risk. Reiske, without the slightest authority, has placed the words ὃς ἔτυχεν ὢν ἐν Σηστῷ ἐπόγδοον after ἐπὶ τόκον: but the safest way is to suppose that ἐπόγδοον means the interest of money lent out in bottomry, as it is explained in Lex. Seg. p. 252. referring however falsely to a pledge of goods: for it may be seen, by comparing Harpocration in v. ἐπόγδοον, that the gloss refers to this passage. My opinion is shortly this: ἐπὶ τόκον is added in order to remove any doubt that Chæredemus did not lend the money to Apollodorus, as being his friend and countryman, without interest, but, as is stated, ἐπὶ τόκον, for interest. The amount of this it was not necessary to state, and it was perhaps omitted as it would not have been pleasant to Chæredemus to have it mentioned. The words ὃς ἔτυχεν ὢν ἐν Σηστῷ can only be referred to Nicippus by a very forced construction. Most probably they belong to Χαιρεδήμου μὲν τοῦ Ἀναφλυστίου; for since it might appear strange that the Anaphlystian should be mentioned as being at Sestos, it was natural to add that he had been there accidentally.

in case that the ship returned safely to port. The amount of this interest of the eighth part, Harpocration correctly estimates at three oboli to the tetradrachm. Higher interest in loans upon bottomry frequently occurs; Xenophon in his Treatise upon the Revenues [653] proposes to erect public buildings for the convenience of merchants, as a means of procuring a profitable return to the citizens, and he supposes that the necessary sum could be collected by contributions of different magnitude, but that each subscriber would obtain an equal return of three oboli daily: he then proceeds to remark, that those who put in ten minas, would receive nearly the interest of the fifth part, the rate which was commonly given in bottomry (ναυτικὸν σχεδὸν ἐπίπεμπτον), and those who put in five minas, more than the interest of the third part; that the greater number, who subscribed a less sum, would obtain an annual income of more than the capital which they contributed, for example, for one mina nearly two. The interest of the fifth and third parts are evidently here considered as common in cases of bottomry; the danger connected with this method of investing money, is alluded to by Xenophon, when he states it as an advantage to be expected from his proposals, that "the profits would arise in the State itself, which appears to be the most secure and lasting source of revenue." It is also manifest that the interest of the fifth part is here precisely 20 per cent, and of the third part 33⅓ per cent, which latter Harpocra-

[653] 3. 7—14. The whole of this short sketch of Xenophon's, and of the errors committed in the explanation of it, is illustrated in book IV. 21. here I only remark, that Salmasius de M. U. I. himself considers in p. 192. the false emendation proposed in p. 25. as superfluous.

tion [654] correctly fixes at eight oboli for the tetradrachm, and that the former ought not to be confounded with the interest of nine oboli, nor the latter with that at three drachmas (18 and 36 per cent). For the year being reckoned with Xenophon at 360 days, three oboli a day give an annual income of 180 drachmas, which for ten minas are 18, and for five minas 36 per cent: the former the author calls nearly the interest of the fifth part, the latter more than that of the third part. Other statements of the rate of interest likewise occur in Demosthenes. Phormion had lent twenty minas for a voyage inwards and outwards to the Pontus, at an interest of six minas, that is at 30 per cent [655]. In the carelessly written instrument in the speech against Lacritus, 3000 drachmas are lent upon Mendæan wine, for a voyage from Athens to Mende or Scione, and from thence to the Bosporus, the borrower being at liberty, if he prefers it, to sail on to the left along the coast of the Black Sea as far as the Borysthenes, at the rate of 225 for 1000 drachmas for the whole time of absence. In this however it is supposed that the borrowers, Phaselitans by birth, are to commence their voyage back from the Pontus before the early rising of Arcturus, in the month Boëdromion, about the twentieth of September, as the autumn (φθινόπωρον) and with it the dangers of navigation then commenced: instead of the interest of

[654] In v. ἐπιτρίταις, referring to a passage in Isæus against Calliphon, where without doubt the orator was speaking of an agreement of bottomry. Proceeding upon the example given by Harpocration of the method of reckoning, viz. oboli for the tetradrachm, the ignorant compiler of the Lexicon Seguer. p. 253. confounds the interest of the third part with the rate of eight oboli.

[655] Demosth. in Phorm. p. 914. 6.

22½ per cent, the higher rate of 30 per cent or 300 from a thousand was however to be paid, if the voyage back from the Pontus to Hierum upon the mouth of the Bosporus should be undertaken, as it sometimes was, after the rising of Arcturus[656]. Since the agreement extends to different places, and liberty is allowed to the borrower to sail into the Pontus or not as he prefers, there is at the end a farther limitation added, in the event of the vessel not running into the Pontus. For in that case, in order to avoid the tempests of the dog-days, the vessel was to remain in the Hellespont, at the end of July, ten days from the early rising of the dog-star (ἐπὶ κυνί), with which the latter part of the summer (ὀπώρα) begins, for the purpose of unlading their cargo in a secure place, and then to return to Athens, to where they have to pay the interest fixed in the preceding year. The addition of the words "in the preceding year" is superfluous, but correct: the instrument was signed early.

[656] See Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1212. 14—24. The situation of Hierum is in Bithynia, close to the Thracian Bosporus; see Harpocration and Suidas in v. ἐφ' Ἱερὸν, and passages referred to by Wolf ad Leptin. p. 259. It was an emporium, where the masters of vessels returning from the Pontus put in. The observations of Petit upon this agreement are beneath all criticism. Salmasius de M. U. V. p. 209 sqq. explains it at full length, but he has entirely lost sight of truth in the interpretation of the third clause, and by this means vitiates his whole account. Heraldus, Anim. in Salmas. Obs. ad I. A. et R. II. 20. takes up some of these errors, adding at the same time some of his own. The words ἐὰν δὲ μὴ εἰσβάλωσι, after which a comma should be placed, cannot, as Salmasius imagines, be referred to the passage out of the Hellespont into the Ægæan sea, but only, as is evident from the whole agreement, to the voyage *into* the Pontus.

in the year, at the time when navigation commenced; now the year ended and began about the middle of summer, about the time of the summer solstice, and consequently the early rising of the dog-star fell in the following year. In this last-mentioned stipulation, the lower rate of interest is meant; for the higher rate was only to be paid if the return from the Pontus took place after the rising of Arcturus, and thus if the ship did not run into the Pontus, it did not apply at all. On the other hand a new risk might in this case arise, which would not exist if the vessel entered the Pontus; the borrowers might return from the Hellespont during the storms of the dog-days, which in case of a voyage in the Pontus could not have taken place on account of the greater distance; it is therefore fixed, that in the former case, the vessel should remain in the Hellespont. With regard to the security of the place where the goods were to be disembarked, it is stipulated that no part of the cargo should be discharged at any port where the Athenians had the right of reprisal (ὅπου ἂν μὴ σῦλαι ὦσιν Ἀθηναίοις): one should rather have expected this condition to have been made with respect to places where this right had been granted against Athenians (κατ' Ἀθηναίων): for the creditors, of whom one is an Athenian, could not be afraid of the Athenians; neither could the borrowers, since they traded at Athens, have had any thing to apprehend from the Athenians. This difficulty however is easily removed: for (not to mention that the trierarchs at this precise period made reprisals upon the property of persons whom the State had given them no authority to plunder, and consequently, that both Athenian and Phaselitan property might easily have been captured by them), it is evident that the moment any property passed either from or to any place, against which the Athenians had given

permission to make reprisals, it became necessary to prohibit by a clause in the agreement, the unlading of the goods at any such place, as Athenian property, and consequently the security on which the money was lent, would there be seized as an act of retaliation, by those whom the Athenians had plundered. It is to be remarked that these commercial agreements were in general made only for the time of a ship's voyage from the spring, till late in the year, and sometimes for a still shorter time, in the case of a voyage which might be soon ended: a term was commonly appointed for payment after the return of the vessel, as for example, in the agreement in the speech against Lacritus, the principal and interest were to be paid within twenty days after the vessel returned to Athens, with the exception of what might be thrown overboard by the common consent of all in the ship, or be taken away by the enemy. But the interest in bottomry was often for a longer period. Thus, according to the statement of Demosthenes, an individual borrowed a sum of money in the month Metageitnion, in the middle of summer, and was only bound to repay it in the same year, that is before the beginning of the next summer [657]. In this case a proportionally higher rate of interest was doubtless given: as it was higher on account of the greater length of the voyage [658]. In most cases however, the creditor withdrew his capital in the winter for his own use.

(24.) Upon the rate of interest the amount of rent and leases, especially of houses and of other kinds of landed property, and in short of every species of property, neces-

[657] Demosth. in Dionysod. p. 1283. 19. p. 1284. 10.

[658] Ibid. p. 1286. extr.

sarily depended. All the foreigners and resident aliens, (the latter of whom were estimated with their families at 45,000 persons), together with a small proportion of slaves, lived at Athens in hired lodgings. For it is evident that foreigners were not entitled to the possession of houses: if then they were at Athens for the sake of trade, or for the purpose of conducting their law-suits, which often detained them for a whole year [659], they dwelled in hired lodgings, excepting those individuals who were entertained as guests by their friends. But the resident aliens lived almost without exception in the city or in the sea-port towns, as they composed the larger portion of the industrious classes; that they could not possess any houses is in part evident from the statement of Xenophon [660], and partly from the fact that no resident alien could safely lend out money upon houses or other landed property, a privilege which was confined to the citizens [661]. Since then the resident alien had not the right of possessing land, landed property was not a valid security for him, as he could never come into possession of it. Thus at Byzantium the resident aliens could not obtain the landed estates which were mortgaged to them, because they had not the right of possessing landed property, until the State gave them permission to hold their mortgaged lands, though not without their consenting to make a considerable deduction from the principal [662]. The same practice prevailed in all Grecian States; if then a foreigner was created either a citizen or Proxenus, the right of possessing landed property was

[659] Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. 1. cf. 3. init.

[660] De Vectig. 2. 6.

[661] Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 946.

[662] See Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. II. 2. 3.

expressly granted in the instrument [663]; the Isoteles however were entitled to the possession of houses, which we learn from the fact that Lysias and Polemarchus had three houses in Athens [664]; with which their right of working mines coincides. The letting of houses at Athens was therefore an important branch of business; some built lodging-houses, (συνοικίαι), and speculators (ναύκληροι, σταθμοῦχοι) rented whole houses in order to let them again to under-tenants [665]. House-rent, like interest, was paid or calculated by the month, and the payment was generally claimed by means of a slave [666]. The assertion of the grammarians [667] that it was paid by Prytaneias, is in this general sense absurd, though if only understood of the houses which belonged to the State, is unquestionably correct. Xenophon remarks that house-building, if undertaken prudently, was profitable, and might enrich the speculator [668]; but the amount of house-rent in proportion to the cost of building and to the value of the house must have been very different according to the situation, and

[663] See the Arcadico-Cretan Decree in Chishull's Ant. Asiat. p. 119, the Byzantine Decree in Demosthenes de Corona, and the examples there quoted by Taylor, and the Decree of the Chaleians in Bœotia in Chandler's Marm. Oxon. II. XXIX. 1. also another Byzantine Decree in Gruter p. CCCCXIX. 2. and the Decree of the Thebans, Pococke p. 50, Rose p. 310.

[664] Lys. in Eratosth. p. 395. Comp. also the passage in Plato, although it is not quite decisive, de Rep. I. p. 328. B.

[665] Ammonius, Harpocration, Photius, and Hesychius in v. ναύκληρος, together with the Commentators, also Kühn ad Poll. I. 74.

[666] Casaub. ad Theophrast. Char. 10.

[667] Ammonius and Thomas M. in v. πρυτανεῖον.

[668] Œcon. 3. 1.

have varied with the increase or diminution in the population; after the Anarchy, the disturbances which then took place having much diminished the numbers of the people, many houses produced no rent[669]. The only exact statement which we possess on the subject of house-rent, occurs in Isæus[670]; according to whom a house at Melitè worth thirty minas, and another at Eleusis worth five minas, together produced three minas a year, that is 8½ per cent; which is low as compared with the rate of interest, and perhaps ought not to be taken as the general average, as Salmasius supposed[671]. The rent of land must be less than the interest of the capital vested in it, if this were lent out; it is also expressly remarked, that in the good old times lands were let to the poor at a moderate rent[672]: according to Isæus[673], an estate in Thria, worth 150 minas, was let for twelve minas, i. e. at only eight per cent. Of the letting of slaves, especially together with the mines, I have treated above; the exact percentage cannot however be determined; for although in the speech of Demosthenes against Pantænetus[674], a mine purchased for sixty minas with thirty slaves, reckoned at 105 minas, was let for 105 drachmas a month, yet nothing can be concluded from this fact, as the agreement of rent was only a form, and in reality the tenant was the proprietor, and the rent twelve per cent interest for money lent upon the mine and slaves. The account that Phormion paid 160 minas

669 Xenoph. Mem. Socrat. II. 7. 2.

670 De Hagn. Hered. p. 293.

671 De M. U. XIX. p. 848.

672 Isocrat. Areopag. 12.

673 Ibid.

674 P. 967.

a year for the rent of Pasion's banking-shop, besides the tenant having to maintain two children of the proprietor's who were left behind, is most unintelligible [675]; who, says Apollodorus, would give so much for the wooden furniture, the space, and the books? Pasion himself only made a hundred minas a year by his banking-shop. This assertion indeed occurs in the lease [676], although this document is not sufficiently authenticated: if the rent was so considerable, we must suppose with Apollodorus, that Pasion at the same time transferred to Phormion some money, which was vested in the concern. Afterwards the banking-shop without the money employed in it was let for a talent [677], in which case the tenant must have still obtained a high profit by trading with borrowed money, which was lent to Pasion's house on account of the credit which it possessed. A considerable profit was obtained by the proprietor, if we may credit Demosthenes, by the lease of the *house* (μίσθωσις οἴκου), that is, of the whole property [678], which produced much more than twelve per cent, and by which families worth two or three talents often doubled or trebled their means. Thus for example, the property of Antidorus, which had been let to one Theogenes, rose in six years from three and a half to six talents [679]. In this manner the Archon Eponymus, in conjunction with the guardians, was bound to let the property of orphans, or a Phasis

[675] Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 956. 6. p. 960. 10.

[676] Demosth. in Steph. I. p. 1111. and concerning the suspiciousness of the document p. 1110. 18.

[677] Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 956. 10. p. 948. 15.

[678] Concerning the meaning of the word οἶκος see Xenoph. Œc. I. 4. 5.

[679] Demosth. in Aphob. I. 831. 26 sqq. p. 833. 22 sqq. in Aphob. ψευδομαρτ. p. 862. 21.

could be instituted against him; and for the sake of security, the tenant was obliged to give a pledge (ἀποτίμημα) [680].

[680] Lys. in Diogit. p. 906. extr. Isæus de Philoctem. Hered. p. 141. Demosth. in Aphob. in the above-quoted passages, Harpocration in v. ἀποτιμηταὶ, and his Commentators; Hesychius in v. ἀποτιμήματα, Poll. VIII. 142. and 89. with the Commentators. Cf. Herald. Animad. in Salmas. Obs. ad I. A. et R. III. 6. 5 sqq. Concerning the Phasis see Poll. VIII. 47. the Epitome of Harpocration, Etymol. Phot. Suid. and Lex. Seg. pp. 313, 315.

Note [A], *pp.* 26, 31.

In the 50th and 66th notes to the first book, the Author refers to his Commentary on an inscription published in the Appendix to the original edition, and since repeated in his Collection of Inscriptions (I. p. 164.); where he has added only a short abstract of his former explanation, and therefore it appeared desirable to give in this place a translation of the passage referred to.

The following extract from the inscription is all that is required.

Ἀγέτω δὲ καὶ ἡ μνᾶ ἡ ἑ[μ]πορ[ικ]ὴ Στε[φανηφόρου δραχ]μὰς ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα κ[αὶ] ὀκτὼ πρὸ[ς] τὰ στάθμια τὰ [ἐ]ν τῷ ἀργυροκοπ[είῳ, κ]αὶ [ἐχέτω ῥοπὴ]ν [Στε]φανηφόρου δραχμὰς δέκα δύο, καὶ πωλε[ίτ]ωσαν πάντες τἄλλα [π]άντα ταύ[τῃ] τῇ μνᾷ, [πλὴν] ὅσα πρὸς ἀργύριον διαρρήδην εἴρηται π[ω]λεῖν, ἱστάντες τὸν πῆχυν τοῦ ζυγ[οῦ ἰσόρ]ροπον, ἄγοντα τὰς ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα δ[ρ]αχ[μὰ]ς τοῦ Σ[τεφανηφ]όρου. τὸ δὲ πεντάμνουν [τὸ ἐμπ]ορικὸν ἐχέτ[ω ῥοπ]ὴν ἐμπορικὴν μνᾶ[ν], ὅ[π]ως ἰσορρόπου τοῦ πήχεως γινομένου ἄγῃ ἐμπορ[ικὰς μ]νᾶς ἓξ. τὸ δὲ τάλαντον τὸ ἑ[μ]πορικὸν [ἐχέτ]ω ῥοπ[ὴν μ]ν[ᾶς] ἐμπ[ο]ρικὰς πέντε, ὅπως καὶ τοῦ[το ἰσ]ορρόπου τοῦ π[ήχ]εως γινομένου ἄγῃ ἑ[μ]πο[ρικ]ὸν τά[λαντον καὶ μ]νᾶς ἐμπορικὰς πέντε.

"In this clause it is ordered that the commercial weight should be greater than the common weight; and that the commercial mina should in the first place be equal to one hundred and thirty-eight drachmas τοῦ στεφανηφόρου, according to the weights in the silver mint (ἀργυροκοπεῖον, Pollux VII. 103. Harpocration, Suidas, and other grammarians), and secondly, that it should contain twelve additional drachmas τοῦ στεφανηφόρου, so that the whole would amount to one hundred and fifty drachmas. Here we are met with questions which do

not admit of an easy solution. In the first place, what is Στεφανηφόρος? Στεφανηφόρος was a hero at Athens, and had a ἡρῷον, but the grammarians have not themselves any accurate knowledge concerning him. See Harpocration, Photius, and Suidas in Στεφανηφόρος, Lex. Seg. p. 301. Meurs. Lect. Att. IV. 10. Compare Sturz Fragment. Hellan. p. 59. The ἡρῷον was doubtless the same as the house which was called Στεφανηφόρου (not Στεφανηφόρος), although the gloss of Hesychius is rather obscure: Στέφανον φορέοντα· ἀπ' οἴκου τινὸς καλουμένου στεφανηφόρου. The contrary opinion of Meursius on this point must be attributed to mere inadvertency. This ἡρῷον was mentioned by Antiphon against Nicocles quoted in Harpocration, Photius, and Suidas: Στεφανηφόρος· Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Νικοκλέα· Στεφανηφόρου ἡρῷον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἦν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις. Now in the same speech the silver-mint was mentioned, according to Harpocration: Ἀργυροκοπεῖον· Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Νικοκλέα, &c. Can it be doubted that in Antiphon, as well as in the present inscription, Stephanephorus occurred in connection with the silver-mint? I conjecture therefore that at Athens the mint was combined with a chapel of this hero, as in Rome with the temple of Juno Moneta; that the standard weights for coin were kept in this sanctuary, which belonged to the chief mint, as at Rome they were preserved in the temple of Juno Moneta; and that from this circumstance the drachmas of the weight used for silver were called drachmas τοῦ Στεφανηφόρου.

As however it is fixed that the commercial mina should contain one hundred and thirty-eight drachmas τοῦ Στεφανηφόρου, to which were to be farther added twelve drachmas of the same weight, it is at once evident, from the adoption of so irregular a number as one hundred and thirty-eight, that this could not have been a new or arbitrary arrangement, but that it must have proceeded upon some ancient regulations with regard to the common and the mint weights. Our object is now to ascertain in what this dissimilarity consisted. It is

well known that Solon wished to diminish the weight of the coin; his intention being to favour the debtors, by enabling them to repay their debts in a debased currency. The mina, as well before as after the time of Solon, manifestly contained one hundred drachmas: but one hundred drachmas, before Solon interfered with the currency, were heavier than after. Plutarch affirms that Solon increased the measures at the same time that he diminished the weight of the coin: this however is absurd; for by this means the proprietors of mortgaged land would have received no possible benefit; they would rather have experienced a loss, if they exchanged a larger measure of products of the soil against a smaller weight of coin; nor can Solon be well supposed to have had any other motive than this in increasing the measures. If there is any meaning in Plutarch's statement, he can only wish to express a proportional increase in the weights, i. e. that while the weight for money was reduced, the weights for commodities remained the same. This view of the subject is peculiarly fitted to explain the present inscription. The weight universally used in Athens before the time of Solon, as well for silver as for other commodities, was such, that 138 of the new drachmas were equal to a mina. Solon allowed this weight to remain for all uses of trade, but made the coin so much lighter, that the mina of silver was to the commercial mina as 100 to 138. It is now easy to perceive why recent writers, being deceived by this ratio, supposed the weight to have been increased; for after this change the commercial mina weighed 138 drachmas, having before only weighed 100: but it was only in comparison with silver, and not absolutely, that it had sustained an increase. Upon this supposition the new silver mina of Solon was equal to $72\frac{72}{138}$ ancient drachmas; for $100 : 138 :: 72\frac{72}{138} : 100$. It is not however possible that Solon could have purposely introduced such a proportion; probably he had intended to diminish the weight of the coin by a fourth part, so that 75 old

drachmas were to be coined into 100 new: the money however (for at that time coined money was doubtless in use) proved in fact to be not sufficiently heavy; and it was observed that 100 of the new drachmas were only equal to $72\frac{13}{69}$ of the old; or, what is the same thing, 100 of the old to 138 of the new; accordingly the ratio between the commercial mina and the new silver mina was fixed at 138 to 100, not, as it would have been according to the ratio originally intended, at $133\frac{1}{3}$ to 100.

Thus far every thing appears to be a mere assumption, made for the purpose of explaining the mode of fixing the commercial mina made use of in the present decree; but the following testimony gives it the authority of an historical fact. Plutarch (Solon. 15.) informs us that Solon made the mina of 100 drachmas, whereas it had previously contained 73, by which change the value of money was diminished; *ἑκατὸν γὰρ ἐποίησε δραχμῶν τὴν μνᾶν, πρότερον ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τριῶν οὖσαν, ὥστ' ἀριθμῷ μὲν ἴσον, δυνάμει δ' ἔλαττον ἀποδιδόντων ὠφελεῖσθαι μὲν τοὺς ἐκτίνοντας μεγάλα, μηδὲν δὲ βλάπτεσθαι τοὺς νομιζομένους.* It may be at the same time remarked, that Plutarch here expresses himself ambiguously. What relief could it have been to debtors who owed several minas, that the division of the mina was altered, and the drachma diminished, while the mina itself remained the same? And again, can it be believed that the mina contained 73 drachmas, a prime number, not divisible without a remainder? Plutarch follows Androtion, who had doubtless stated that a weight of silver, which before Solon had only been equal to 73 drachmas, Solon had made into a mina, or 100 drachmas. This statement so nearly agrees with the view before taken, that the coincidence cannot be the result of chance. Both statements differ only by the fraction of a drachma; the number obtained from the decree is however doubtless the more correct, and the other is only an approximation. The following circumstance should also be observed. The Euboic talent was to the Attic talent

of Solon as 72 to 70, which is the same as 75 to $72\frac{11}{12}$. If we assume that this ratio is not strictly accurate, but that the correct one is 75 to $72\frac{33}{68}$, or, what is the same, $72\frac{8}{17}$ to 70, the ancient Attic talent, before the change of Solon, was to the Euboic as 100 to 75, and Solon, in his diminution of the weight for silver, intended to introduce the Euboic standard, without however entirely accomplishing his object."

THE

PUBLIC ECONOMY

OF

ATHENS.

BOOK II.

(1.) HAVING by the preceding enquiries cleared the way for the pursuance of the main subject of this work, the Public Economy of Athens, the first question which arrests our attention is, whether in ancient times the operation of the financial system was of the same general and predominant importance, and exercised that influence upon the welfare and decline of nations, which it is found to possess in modern days. Hegewisch [1] first expressed his astonishment that in the states of antiquity, revolutions had been so seldom caused by taxation and financial regulations; which have been the chief sources of disturbance among modern nations. A later writer has accounted for this difference by stating that in ancient times the civil and judicial constitution was the principal cause of revolutions, whereas in modern times these have resulted chiefly from the system of finance [2]. It cannot indeed be denied

[1] Historische Versuch über die Römischen Finanzen p. 44 sqq.

[2] Wagemann de quibusdam causis, ex quibus tum in veteribus tum in recentiorum civitatibus turbæ ortæ sunt, aut status

that in the democracies of antiquity a revolution could not well have arisen from a refusal to pay taxes; and in the States of Greece, at its most flourishing period, democracy was the prevailing form of government. In this form of polity, the imposers and payers of taxes are in fact the same persons; whence then was there a possibility of dissension between the two classes? Besides, in a democracy the people never apply the public money to objects which are opposed either to their real or apparent interests, which is not unlikely to happen under an aristocratic or despotic form of government. If then discontent was at any time excited amongst particular individuals by the financial measures of the State, the majority of the citizens concurred in and supported them, they themselves having been the very persons with whom they originated. That an insurrection should arise from this cause was consequently as improbable as that popular commotions should be caused at Athens by a summons to war. The chief sources of disturbance must have been created by encroachments upon the rights of the citizens, especially with respect to their share in the governing power; whereas in the monarchies of modern times, the people being for the most part indifferent as to who fills the office of king, only feel themselves oppressed by those who obstruct them in the enjoyment of their property, and diminish their means of subsistence by the imposition of taxes and by other compulsory measures; excepting that at particular periods, when the sense of the nation has been more generally excited, the people have

reipublicæ immutatus est, Heidelberg. 1810. 4to. [Aristotle however (Pol. II. 4.) says distinctly, *δοκεῖ τισι τὸ περὶ τὰς οὐσίας εἶναι μέγιστον τεταχθαι καλῶς· περὶ γὰρ τούτων ποιεῖσθαί φασι τὰς στάσεις πάντας.*]

pressed for an ampler recognition of their rights. In those ancient states which were not democracies, the government, especially that of tyrants, was indeed generally odious from the burthens with which it oppressed the people, but still more so on account of the loss of freedom. These two causes together produced numberless revolutions. It should also be borne in mind, that in the republican States, the attention paid to the public finances was by no means so inconsiderable as some writers have imagined: wealth was not less an object of desire at that than at the present time; the exigencies of the State were not fewer than in modern Europe, and least of all as far as Athens is concerned; although the objects to which the expenditure was directed, and the means of extricating the State from an unforeseen pressure, differed in many points with the difference in the political circumstances, from the corresponding practices in modern days. The ancients, for reasons which we shall afterwards explain, had no artificial public system of finance; but the exigencies of the State were not on that account less pressing upon individuals. If at the present day any additional taxes were required for the purpose of paying off the national debt, the payers of taxes would not be called upon at a period of urgent necessity; and the sum, which at the precise moment of need could only be raised in full to the great inconvenience of the taxed, would with moderate interest be paid off in a series of years. Whereas according to the usual practice in ancient times, the expences of the commonwealth were immediately defrayed by the payers of taxes, and a part of their capital was sacrificed, which might have been turned with profit to fresh production. So that the want of a public system of finance was rather injurious than otherwise to the citizens

of the ancient States, and the administration of finance more oppressive. Nor can it be inferred that this branch of the administration was held in low esteem, from the circumstance that no Archon was placed at the head of it; for the influence of the Archons even in early times had become very inconsiderable. But in every nation the finances were in the hands of the sovereign power; and at Athens the legislation on financial matters belonged to the people, the administration of them to the supreme council. Then, as well as now, the administration of the finances was considered one of the most important branches of public affairs; and the statesman, who like Aristides and Lycurgus, succeeded in placing them in a flourishing condition, gained the goodwill of the people and the admiration of posterity. Some statesmen in the ancient days of Greece even occupied themselves exclusively with this branch of the administration[3]; and all the great demagogues endeavoured to obtain over it either a direct or an indirect influence, since the management of the public money afforded both the most effectual means of advancing themselves into favour with the people and of maintaining that position. Thus Eubulus of Anaphlystus[4], who applied himself in particular to financial affairs, obtained a lasting popularity, although it was chiefly acquired by flattering the avarice of an indolent people, through the distribution and lavish expenditure of the public money. In Athens, the ministers of finance would have been held in as high esteem as in modern States, if all measures of general policy had not been deliberated on and decided by the

[3] Aristot. Polit. l. 7. (11.)

[4] Plutarch. Præc. Reip. Ger. 15. Cf. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 417.

mass of the people; notwithstanding which the chief manager of the public revenue was always looked up to as one of the most important officers of State. In the progress of time the faulty management of the finances of Athens essentially contributed to the destruction of the State, more especially from the period when she was forced to defend herself from foreign attack. If the powers of the government are misdirected, the moral condition of a State cannot alone preserve it. Immoderate exertions and excesses equally render a State and an individual incapable of performing their proper functions. Now Athens overstrained both her mental and physical powers (of which the power arising from wealth is not the least), partly in great and noble exertions, partly in vain and profligate waste; after which she naturally fell into such a state of weakness and inactivity, as to be unable to resist the first violent pressure to which she might be exposed. Can it then be maintained, that financial regulations were of less importance in ancient than in modern times, or that they had less influence upon the public welfare? Unquestionably not; provided that the comparison is correctly instituted, and that the distinction is kept in view which is caused by the wide dissimilarity between the size of the most remarkable and important States of antiquity, and those of modern Europe.

J. J. Rousseau[5] maintains, that a government becomes more dependent on its finance in proportion as the other energies of the people decline, and that a State may be considered as having arrived at the last stage of corruption, when it has no other power than that which is derived

[5] Discours sur l'origine et les fondemens de l'inégalité parmi les hommes, p. 314. Geneva 1782, vol. I. of his works.

from its wealth: In this manner, he thinks, all governments tend incessantly to decay, and consequently that no State can endure, if its revenues are not perpetually increasing. Although these remarks may not be wholly correct in the extended sense in which he applies them, they are still supported by a large majority of facts; and it is certain that as long as the early vigour of the human mind is still unimpaired, the State is far less in need of those artificial arrangements which are necessary for the levying of money from the people. For as soon as the pressure of any immediate and urgent necessity excites the citizens, they spare no sacrifice nor exertion to satisfy the exigency. This was the case with respect to Athens before the administration of Pericles, and particularly before the Peloponnesian war, at which time the change in the Athenian character took place. Their oppression of the allies and of the mercenaries connected with them, taught the Athenians to place greater reliance upon the assistance of foreigners, than upon their own exertions; the poison however operated slowly, because the feelings of honour with which the overthrow of the barbarians and the liberation of their common country had inspired them, were not as yet obliterated; while ambition still in some degree supplied the place of purer motives, and the fear of a momentary sacrifice was overcome by the hope of the rich compensation which would probably follow in the train of victory. It is certain however that after the age of Pericles, the administration of the finances became of greater importance, and that the expences of the State increased, as public principle declined: Athens however by the augmentation of the tribute received from her allies, as well as by the imposition of customs and other duties, found the means of increasing her revenues. By

these means she succeeded in maintaining herself, notwithstanding her many reverses and defeats, until not only her moral strength had almost expired, but her revenues also had greatly diminished. Thus it was that she became powerless and lost her independence. Rousseau infers from the principles above laid down, that the first maxim of financial administration is to restrain as much as possible the tendency to expence, and to exert the utmost vigilance in order to anticipate the appearance of any want. In spite of every care, he thinks, the remedy will always be too late for the disease, and the State will thus be left in a suffering condition; that at the moment when one expence is about to be retrenched, another arises; that additional resources are themselves productive of new difficulties, the people become oppressed, the government loses all its strength, and, notwithstanding its great expenditure, is able to effect little. Rousseau is of opinion that by these principles we may account for the almost miraculous phenomenon of the ancient governments having been enabled to effect more with their frugality than modern States can perform with all their riches. I quote this remark with a view to caution the reader against applying it to Athens, where after the time of Pericles expence was heaped upon expence, the administration of finance became continually of more importance, and the difficulty continually greater. It also throws a strong light upon the different public salaries at Athens, although these resulted in part from other circumstances, such as the poverty of the citizens, and the pretensions which the State would not consent to abandon, though unable to satisfy them from its own resources. This increase in the expences of the community far above the measure of its strength, rendered

an attention to the affairs of finance more necessary to the Athenians than to any other Grecian State.

(2.) To obtain a knowledge of the financial system of Athens in its whole extent, we must consider how it was administered, what were the exigencies of the State, and what revenues there were to meet them, and whether the latter were in general sufficient, or whether at times they produced a surplus, and what extraordinary resources were available on the appearance of difficulties. We here limit ourselves to the economy of the State alone, excluding subordinate companies and corporations; although, as Athens was both a city and a State, many things must be included in the public finances, which in larger nations would only belong to corporate bodies; and again, many parts of the finances of subordinate communities were so intimately connected with the State, that on that account they ought not to be passed over. The expences of the temples and sacred corporations were partly defrayed from revenues of their own, which were independent of the State, and thus far they will not be treated of in this book; but in so far as the State advanced contributions, or availed itself of the sacred revenues and treasures in pecuniary difficulties, upon the condition of restoring them[6], the finances of the State and of the sacred institutions are linked together, and the latter therefore deserve at least an occasional consideration.

(3.) The legislative authority in matters of finance as in all other things belonged to the People, as being supreme ruler and sovereign (κύριος). All the regular expences and revenues were determined by the laws which it enacted,

[6] Cf. e. g. Thucyd. II. 13. VI. 8.

and every extraordinary measure received its authority by a decree of the people. But the administration was entrusted to the Senate of 500, as the agents of the community, who were responsible to the people: this council prepared questions in debate for the popular assembly, and had the different branches of the public economy under its superintendence. That the power of the senate with reference to matters of finance was as extensive as here represented, is evident from the following examples. According to Xenophon's Treatise upon the Athenian Republic[7], the Senate was occupied with providing money, with receiving the tribute, and with the management of naval affairs and of the temples. The letting of the duties was under its superintendence. Those who had received sacred or public monies from the State were bound to pay them to the senate, or it enforced the payment of them according to the laws relating to the farming of duties[8]: it had therefore the right of sending the farmers or their securities to prison in case of non-payment[9]. The Apodectæ delivered to this assembly an account of the monies received and still remaining due; in the presence of this council the treasurers of the goddess transferred and accepted the treasures, and received the fines. The senate arranged also the application of the public money even in trifling matters, such for example as the salary of the poets: the superintendence of the cavalry maintained by the State, and the examination of the infirm (ἀδύνατοι) supported at the public cost, are particularly mentioned among its duties: the public debts were also paid under

[7] 3. 2. Cf. Petit. Leg. Att. II. 1. 1.

[8] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 730.

[9] See the Oath in Petit III. 12. 2. cf. 10.

its direction[10]. From this enumeration we are justified in inferring that all questions of finance were confided to its supreme direction. In early times it is possible that the Areopagus, which was of so great importance before its power was diminished by Ephialtes, also exercised some authority in affairs of finance. For in the Persian war this tribunal once directed that every person bearing arms or serving in the fleet should receive eight drachmas from the Areopagites[11] (although it has been said that the Athenians had no public money at that time), whence it might be concluded, that the authority of this supreme office of government extended to financial matters.

The boards and officers subordinate to the senate, by whom the machinery of finance was worked, may be classed under three heads: in the first place, those who made the arrangements and preparations necessary for the collection of the revenue, or collected it themselves; secondly, the treasurers of the offices into which the revenues were paid, in which they were kept, and where they were again disbursed; and thirdly, those whose duty it was to discharge the accounts. Concerning the first division it will be unnecessary to say much, as in treating of the revenue the method of its collection must be in part considered. All regular duties were let to farmers (τελῶναι); for these imposts therefore no particular places of payment were necessary, except for receiving the money from the farmers; an office was however probably required to arrange the

[10] Inscript. 76. I. p. 116. ed. Boeckh. The senate also is mentioned in connection with the sacred money in another inscription (n. 80. p. 119. ibid.), but in what particular relation is not stated.

[11] Plutarch. Themist. 10. from Aristotle.

letting, or as the ancients term it the sale of the duties. Now every thing that the State sold or let out to farm, taxes, lands, mines, confiscated property (including the property of public debtors after the expiration of their last term), the persons of resident aliens who had not paid their protection-money, and foreigners who had been guilty of illegally assuming the rights of citizenship or of the offence of Apostasion; all these duties were left to the care of the ten Poletæ, a board (ἀρχή), to which each tribe contributed one member; and which met at a place called Poleterion [12]. Among them was a Prytaneus, who presided; for the sale of the duties, they were allowed the assistance of the directors of the Theoricon [13]; but they managed every thing in the name and under the authority of the senate alone, for which reason in the sale of the 50th and of the tax upon prostitutes we read of the co-operation of the Senate [14]. The property of the temples was however let by the directors of sacred possessions, as may be inferred from the Sandwich inscription, in which the Amphictyons of Delos render an account of the leases; the property of the tribes and boroughs was let by themselves through their own agent or manager, to whom the payments were also made [15]. Another class of the public revenues con-

[12] Aristot. de Rep. Athen. ap. Harpocr. in v. πωληταί, Suidas in vv. πωληταί and πωλητής, Phot. in v. πωληταί (twice), Hesych. and Lex. Seg. p. 291. Pollux VIII. 99. Harpocr. in v. μετοίκιον, Demosth. in Aristogit. I. p. 787. Cf. Petit. II. 5. 2. The explanation in Lex. Seg. p. 192. 21. is incorrect.

[13] Poll. VIII. 99.

[14] See Book III. 4. and 7.

[15] See Inscript. 158. p. 252. n. 103. p. 144. n. 104. p. 142. Boeckh. book III. 2. Demosth. in Eubulid. p. 1318. 18.

sisted of the justice-fees and fines; these were paid in by the presidents of the court of justice which had decided the cause, when the part that accrued to the State was transferred to the officers named Exactors (πρᾶκτορες), and the portion which was allotted to any god was placed in the hands of the treasurers of the proper temple; who either received the money or annulled the verdict [16]. Certain fines were registered by the king-Archon [17], doubtless in his capacity of head of the court of justice. When the payment had been made, the names were erased by the officers whose duty it was to exact the money, for example the Practores, together with the senate [18]. The tributes of the allies were probably paid without the immediate interference of the Athenian State; yet in this case also it was sometimes necessary to appoint certain temporary authorities, such as the officers who fixed the sum to be paid by the subject State (ἐπιγραφεῖς) [19], and others who collected the tribute, if it had fallen into arrear (ἐκλογεῖς); the latter however were chosen from among the rich, nor can their's be considered as a permanent situation more than the former, as they are only mentioned in a fragment of

[16] Lysias ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατιώτου p. 323, 324. Demosth. in Macart. p. 1074 sqq. Andoc. de Myst. p. 36. Æschin. in Timarch. p. 62, 63. Orat. in Theocrin. p. 1327. 29. p. 1336. 26. Demosth. in Aristog. I. p. 778. 18. [The authors of the *Attische Process* p. 32. observe, that "this last assertion must be limited to the fines summarily imposed by the magistrates (ἐπιβολαί); for that no public officer had power either to mitigate or remit a penalty decreed by a court of justice."]

[17] Andoc. de Myst. p. 37.

[18] Andoc. ut sup. p. 38.

[19] See note 23.

Antiphon concerning the tribute of the Samothracians[20]. As the Spartans had their Harmosts, so had the Athenians officers named Episcopi (ἐπίσκοποι, φύλακες) as inspectors in the tributary States; Antiphon had mentioned them in his oration concerning the tribute of the Lindians[21], but we are not informed whether they were in any way concerned with the collection of the tributes. Each tribe was bound to take care that the regular public services (λειτουργίαι) were correctly performed by the citizens: which inspection therefore fell within the department of the head managers of the tribes (ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν φυλῶν), to whom this duty, as well as that of administering the funds of the tribes, is attributed by ancient writers[22]. The superintendence and allotment of the trierarchy was divided between certain authorities, who will be pointed out in a subsequent part of this work, and the chief managers of the companies appointed for its direction, who in ancient times were doubtless the Naucrari, and subsequently the managers of the Symmoriæ (ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν). For the extraordinary property tax (εἰσφορά), certain persons were nominated in order to determine the amount of the contributions, who, as well as the officers who fixed the rate of the tributes of the allies, were called ἐπιγραφεῖς or διαγραφεῖς, and were probably ten in number; these officers also prosecuted those who were in arrear[23]. Besides these authorities the directors of the

[20] In Harpocr. and Suidas. Whether these are the same as the ἐκλογεῖς appointed by lot like the Practores, who are mentioned in Lex. Seg. p. 190. 26. or different officers are meant, is not certain: probably the passage in this Lexicon refers to all ἐκλογεῖς.

[21] Cf. Schol. Arist. Av. 1023. Harpocr. in v. ἐπίσκοποι.

[22] See Sigon. de Rep. Athen. IV. 2.

[23] Harpocrat. in vv. ἐπιγραφεῖς, διάγραμμα, Suidas in different

Symmoriæ, from the time that this establishment was connected with the property taxes, must have had the chief management of the distribution. Certain persons were also employed as collectors[24]. Lastly, the Demarchs must have been highly serviceable in all affairs connected with these taxes, as, before the institution of their office, were the Naucrari, since they were able to afford the best information concerning the property of the inhabitants[25]. We are indeed told that the Demarchs collected public money from the citizens[26], which can only mean that they enforced the claims which a borough in its corporate capacity had upon its members or upon a tenant renting some of its property: it may however be safely allowed that they were employed for various debts and dues claimed by the State[27]. The senate and the people on particular occasions appointed certain persons for the collection of the outstanding property-taxes, a duty for which Androtion and nine others were once selected[28]. In like manner the Syndics (σύνδικοι), who were introduced after the dominion of the thirty tyrants, were authorities nominated for the moment, being revenue law-officers of the State, who decided upon confiscated property[29]; the συλλογεῖς, who made

places, in vv. ἐπιγραφεῖς, διαγραφεῖς, διάγραμμα, and ἐπιγνώμονες, Etymol. in vv. ἐπιγραφεῖς and ἐπιγνώμονες. Lex. Seg. p. 254. Poll. VIII. 103. Isocr. Trapez. 21. Cf. Sigon. R. A. IV. 3.

[24] Suid. in v. ἐκλογεῖς. These are the officers which are alluded to in Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1209. 9.

[25] Cf. Poll. VIII. 108.

[26] Demosth. in Eubul. ut sup. Concerning the Naucrari in this point of view, see book III. 2.

[27] An example, although not satisfactory, may be seen in Inscript. 80. 1. p. 119. ed. Boeckh.

[28] Demosth. in Androt.

[29] Sigon. R. A. IV. 4. Petit. III. 2. 31. where Wesseling

a list of the property of the Oligarchs previously to its confiscation [30]; the ζητηταὶ, a revenue-board which was at times suppressed, whose duty it was to ascertain who were indebted to the public, particularly with regard to fraud and concealment [31]. The same name however was applied also to persons who were entrusted by the State on certain occasions with the discovery of other offences [32]. These and the Practores are reckoned by Pollux [33] among the inferior officers (ὑπηρεταί); but it is more probable that this was an office of government, (ἀρχὴ) which citizens of high rank were not ashamed to accept.

(4.) All the revenues under the care of the preparatory

quotes from Valesius upon Harpocration, in v. σύνδικοι, the decisive passages of Lysias (pro Mantith. p. 574. περὶ δημ. ἀδικ. p. 597. in Poliuch. p. 613. pro Aristoph. bonis p. 635.). Photius also has transcribed the article of Harpocration in v. σύνδικοι. Cf. Herald. Animadv. in Salmas. Observ. III. 10. 13.

[30] Vid. ad Inscript. 157. p. 250.

[31] Sigon. R. A. IV. 3. Hudtwalcker von den Diäteten p. 58. and also Demosth. in Timocrat. p. 696. 9. Lex. Seg. p. 261. Both the latter passages are given by Sluiter Lect. Andocid. p. 55. Cf. Phot. in v. ζητητής. At Pellene they were called μάστροι; the word μαστῆρες occurred in Hyperides. See Harpocr. Lex. Seg. p. 279. Suid. Phot. in vv. μαστῆρες and μάστειρες. According to the Lex. Seg. and Photius in the first article, it was their duty to search for confiscated property, and they were therefore nearly allied to the συλλογεῖς. I should observe that Hudtwalcker (p. 32.) is in my opinion incorrect in only considering the Zetetæ as an office of government (ἀρχὴ) in the same manner that this title is conferred upon judges, heralds, and clerks; but I must defer to another place the explanation of the word ἀρχὴ, and its opposite ὑπηρεσία, as employed in the political language of Athens.

[32] Andoc. de Myst. p. 7, 18, 20, 32.

[33] VIII. 114, 115.

officers were necessarily delivered up to others, who either distributed them for the public service or kept them for security. Aristotle[34], in speaking of the officers of government, mentions those to whom the public revenues are paid, as well as others who collect and distribute them to separate branches of the administration: these are called, he adds, Apodectæ and Treasurers. At Athens there were ten Apodectæ, after the number of the tribes, who were chosen by lot; these were introduced by Cleisthenes in the place of the ancient Colacretæ. They kept the lists of all persons who were indebted to the State, received the money which was paid in, made an entry of it, and marked the outstanding sums, erased the names of the debtors from the list in the senate-house in presence of the senate, and returned this register into the archives; and lastly, they together with the senate distributed the money that had been paid in, that is to say, they assigned it to the separate offices. Their duties were accurately described by Aristotle in his Constitution of Athens. They also had power to decide causes connected with the subjects under their management[35], a privilege which was allowed to nearly all public officers at Athens. As far as can be ascertained from the accounts which are still extant, they received in the presence of the senate all the monies which belonged to the State; but the revenues of the temples

[34] Polit. VI. 8.

[35] Pollux VIII. 97. Harpocr. in v. ἀποδέκται from Aristotle and Androtion, Suid. Etym. Hesych. Lex. Seg. p. 198. and Zonaras in v. ἀποδέκται. I may mention here, once for all, that I shall not always quote the latter grammarian, as for the most he only copied other authorities. The Apodectæ also occur in Demosth. in Timocrat. p. 750. 24. as persons who were present at the paying in of money.

and of the small corporations were independent of them: nor had they any funds of their own, but only distributed to the different offices the money that was paid in. If their duties should appear confined, it will not seem surprising that the receival of the tributes of the allies is expressly ascribed to them by Pollux, notwithstanding the Hellenotamiæ appear to have been appointed for that purpose: for although the latter, before the funds of Delos were transferred to Athens and united with the Athenian treasury, had the entire levying and management of the tributes, it was possible for the tributes to have been afterwards received by the Apodectæ in the senate, and have been then paid into the office of the Hellenotamiæ to defray the expences which were assigned to their funds. After the abolition of the Hellenotamiæ the Apodectæ were the only officers who could have received the tributes. The treasurers[36] of the tribes and boroughs also received and administered the money belonging to these corporations; and in the same manner the revenues which periodically accrued to the sacred corporations, were paid to their own treasurers independently of the Apodectæ.

(5.) For every temple of any importance had a treasure which was composed of offerings, and the surplus of the amount of the sacred property, together with other receipts which belonged to the particular deity; and these treasures were under the management of the treasurers of the sacred monies (ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων)[37]. The sacred treasure of the greatest magnitude at Athens was that of Minerva

[36] Concerning these officers see Chandler Inscript. II. 109. where the ταμίας of a borough, and another Inscription (p. 104. n. 142. ed. Boeckh.) where the ταμίας of a tribe occurs.

[37] Aristot. Polit. VI. 8.

upon the Acropolis; to which (not to mention in this place the public monies which were deposited there), besides the large amount of sacred offerings and rents[38], many fines without any deduction, and of others a percentage equal to the tenth part were assigned, as well as the tithe of all prizes taken in war, together with that of confiscated property[39]. Many articles of great value were preserved in the neighbouring temples, but the chief treasure was deposited in the Opisthodomus of the Parthenon[40], ever after the building of that temple. These treasures of the temple of Minerva were under the care of the treasurers of Minerva or of the Goddess, who were also called treasurers of the sacred property of Minerva or of the Goddess (ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ or τῶν τῆς θεοῦ, ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας, ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς θεοῦ). The most ancient mention of them, which is in Herodotus[41], refers to the time of the battle of Salamis; in later times they frequently occur as the treasurers of the monies and property of Minerva exclusively, as well before the Anarchy in inscriptions of about the 92d Olympiad[42], as subsequently to it in a law preserved in Demosthenes, which was doubtless passed in earlier times[43]; in an inscription of Olymp. 98. 4., and in a passage of Æschines referring to Olymp. 104. 4.[44]. In like manner each temple had its

[38] See book III. 12.

[39] Whereas the other gods only received a fiftieth of certain commodities. Concerning these tithes see book III. 6, 12, 14.

[40] See book III. 20.

[41] VIII. 51. ταμίας τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

[42] The superscription of the Choiseul marble (n. 147.). Of the same date are Inscript. 139 and 141. ed. Boeckh.

[43] Ap. Demosth. in Macart. p. 1075. 2.

[44] Inscript. 151. and Æschin. in Timarch. p. 127.

own treasurers, who together with the chief managers (ἐπιστατὰι) and sacrificers (ἱεροποιὸι), administered the money which belonged to it [45]. But about the 90th Olympiad these treasurers of the different temples, with the exception of the treasurers of Minerva, were united into one board under the name of the treasurers of the gods (ταμίαι τῶν θεῶν), the nomination of whom took place upon the same principles as that of the treasurers of Minerva, and they are said to have also kept their treasures upon the Acropolis (ἐν πόλει), and even in the Opisthodomus [46], so that from this time all the sacred money was preserved in the Acropolis. Whenever therefore after this period the treasurers of the sacred money in the Acropolis are mentioned, as for example in Andocides [47], it cannot be determined without a farther specification which of these two offices is meant. As moreover according to their original institution, the treasurers of the goddess and the treasurers of the gods were entirely different authorities, so they afterwards remained separate: a fact which the mention in Demosthenes of the treasurers of the goddess as an independent office, and their opposition to the treasurers of the gods, distinctly prove [48]. However they once occur unequivo-

[45] Inscript. 76. §. 7.

[46] Inscript. 76. §. 6.

[47] De Myst. p. 65. where the word προυβάλλοντο does not suit the office of treasurer, the candidates for which were not proposed, but is inaccurately put in conjunction with it. So that the passage must be understood as if it stood in this manner: εἶων με λαχεῖν ταμίαν.

[48] In Timocrat. p. 743. 1. οἱ ταμίαι, ἐφ' ὧ̃ ὁ Ὀπισθόδομος ἐπετρέφθη, καὶ οἱ τῶν τῆς θεοῦ, καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. The words of the decree in Andoc. de Myst. p. 36. τοὺς ταμίας τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν are an inaccurate combination of two different offices.

cally united as one office, viz. in Olymp. 95.$\frac{3}{4}$.[49] in which instance the treasurers of the goddess and of the other gods (ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν) were altogether only ten, instead of which the treasurers of Minerva alone were originally ten, and consequently the treasurers of the other gods created after their example were the same in number. In their collective capacity they transferred the treasures of Minerva as well as of other gods, for example, of Jupiter Polieus, and of Diana of Brauron. This union was not however of long duration; there can be no doubt that about the 98th Olympiad the treasurers of the goddess again existed independently, and were ten in number[50]. At that time therefore the treasurers of the gods must have been again separate from them. Concerning the treasurers of the goddess, Harpocration and Pollux furnish us with more exact accounts derived from Aristotle[51]. Of these officers then we learn that there were ten chosen by lot from among the Pentacosiomedimni; after this class was abolished, a fixed valuation was probably established for them in some other manner[52]. They received and transferred the treasures, monies, and valuables, particularly the statue of Minerva, the statues of Victory, and all the other decorations, in the presence of the senate[53]; like the Apodectæ, they received for the pur-

[49] See Inscript. 150. ed. Boeckh.

[50] As is proved by Inscript. 151. (Superscription), where the vacant space requires this number of names.

[51] Harpocr. in v. ταμίαι, Photius, Suidas, Philemon Lex. Technol. (edited by Burney), and Lex. Seg. p. 306. Poll. VIII. 97.

[52] See book IV. 5.

[53] Upon this subject compare Inscript. 76. §. 7. in reference to the treasurers of the gods.

pose of custody the fines which accrued to the goddess; and they had, as is proved from Demosthenes, the power of cancelling a judicial sentence relating to them. Under their superintendence was placed all the precious furniture of the temple of Minerva upon the Acropolis, including, as we learn from the oration of Demosthenes against Timocrates[54], the trophies of the State (*τὰ ἀριστεῖα τῆς πόλεως*), Xerxes' silver-footed stool, the golden sabre of Mardonius, and an immense collection of valuable articles in the Parthenon and its interior cell, the catalogues of which are still extant in several inscriptions. The office was annual; at the expiration of each year the predecessors transferred to their successors all that had been originally delivered to them, and whatever had accrued since their instalment in the office; the duties of the treasurers of the other gods were similar, as their office was arranged on the very same principles as the former. Now every thing that has been hitherto mentioned as being under the care of the two boards of treasurers was sacred property (*ἱερά*). But to whom belonged the superintendence of the money preserved in the treasury upon the Acropolis, which was not considered as sacred property (*ὅσια χρήματα*)? According to a very probable account given in Suidas[55], the public monies were kept by treasurers chosen by lot, who had the care of the statue of Minerva, alluding manifestly to the treasurers of the goddess. For all money which was brought into the treasury by means of a decree of the people (whither it was transmitted by the Apodectæ), was looked upon as dedicated to Minerva[56], although it could not have

[54] P. 741. Cf. Sigon. R. A. IV. 3.

[55] In v. *ταμίαι* in the first article.

[56] According to Inscript. 76. §. 2. *ἐπειδὴ τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τὰ τρισχίλια τάλαντα ἀνενήνεγκται εἰς πόλιν, ἃ ἐψήφιστο.*

been considered as her immediate property; and it was consequently placed under the care of the treasurers of the goddess; the latter repaid it upon the authority of a decree of the people; thus, according to the Choiseul inscription, considerable sums were paid by them to the Hellenotamiæ and others, partly out of the treasures of Minerva Polias and of the goddess of Victory, and partly from the public treasure. The treasurers of the goddess were therefore not merely treasurers of a temple in the more limited sense, but guardians also of the public treasure, and in this respect their's was no unimportant office: occasionally also they are called treasurers (ταμίαι)[57]. Thus Androtion is called treasurer without any farther addition[58], although he could have held no other office than that of treasurer of the goddess, for he had under his care the golden crowns, sacred offerings and ornaments for processions belonging to Minerva in particular, and other things preserved in the temple of that goddess, which he obtained permission from the people to recast and alter. The idea that Androtion must have been elected by the Cheirotonia of the people, as would be inferred from the account of Petit[59], is only founded upon a mistake of Ulpian, which ought not to mislead any reader. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the treasurers were bound to leave the money unemployed, and that it was a dishonest gain if they lent it out for their own profit; a fraud which, according to Ulpian upon the oration against Timocrates, was once actually committed[60].

[57] Cf. Harpocr. Suid. &c.

[58] Demosth. in Androt. p. 615. 17.

[59] Leg. Att. III. 2. 33.

[60] From this Demosthenes περὶ παραπρεσβείας p. 435. 8. must probably be explained.

(6.) Wholly different from these offices was the Treasurer or Manager of the Public Revenue (ταμίας or ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου), the most important of all offices of finance, which was filled not by lot but by the Cheirotonia of the people. Aristides held this situation, to which he was elected by Cheirotonia[61]; Lysias is expressly called in the decree, by which honours were conferred upon him after his death[62], treasurer of the public revenue (ταμίας τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου), and immediately afterwards it is observed that he was chosen by the people. Also in the Lives of the Ten Orators[63] a law is mentioned, in which this treasurer is said to have been elected by Cheirotonia for the charge of the public money (ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα); and the remark made by Ulpian that it was necessary that the treasurer should be elected by Cheirotonia, is only true of this officer. This office moreover was not annual, like those of the treasurers upon the Acropolis, but was held for four years, that is to say, for a Penteteris: it is expressly related of Lycurgus, that he filled that office for three Penteterids[64]; and Diodorus says, that he administered the public revenues for twelve years[65]. In early times, the same individual could be re-elected more than once, as the example of Aristides proves; but after the first Penteteris of Lycurgus, the jealousy of the citizens was sufficiently

[61] Plutarch. Aristid. 4. where he is called ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν κοινῶν προσόδων.

[62] Decree III. at the end of the Lives of the Ten Orators.

[63] In Lycurg. Petit (ut sup.) confuses this whole subject most ignorantly. He does not deserve refutation.

[64] Lives of the Ten Orators (from the third Decree), and thence Photius.

[65] Diod. XVI. 88. δώδεκα ἔτη τὰς προσόδους τῆς πόλεως διοικήσας.

strong to procure the enactment of a law, by which all persons were from that time prohibited from holding this situation for more than five years (μὴ πλείω πέντε ἐτῶν διέπειν τὸν χειροτονηθέντα ἐπὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα): on which account Lycurgus in the two following periods transacted the business under fictitious names[66]. The mention of five years might lead one to suppose that the office was held for that time; but the expression must be considered as inexact, and the word used in the law was doubtless Penteteris and not five years; a Penteteris according to the ancient usage was never more than four years, although the idiom subsequently changed, as may be seen from the language of some later writers[67]. Many of the periods employed in matters of finance were undoubtedly of four years, particularly the assessment of the tributes, which is distinctly stated to have taken place every Penteteris (every four years): thence arose the duration of the office in question. There were also other offices at Athens which were held for four years, being regulated by the great Panathenæa; but none, as far as I am aware, for five years. The periodical beginning of the office of treasurer I have ascertained with probability elsewhere[68]; it fell in the year of the great Panathenæa, in the third year of each Olympiad, about the commencement of winter.

However considerable the situation of chief manager of the public revenue may have been, his power in administer-

[66] Vit. Dec. Orat. p. 251. vol. VI. of the Tübingen Plutarch.

[67] Arrian. Epict. III. 25. Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. XII. 8. call a period of four years τετραετία. Concerning the question whether in the treasurership of Lycurgus the periods were of four or five years, see also book III. 19.

[68] Ad Inscript. VIII. §. 2.

ing the finances was by no means unlimited, but like every other officer he was subject to the restraint of legal checks and of the will of the people; nor was this office by any means the exclusive source from which all financial measures proceeded; for every person who had the right of speaking in the assembly and the senate, every orator and demagogue, was at liberty to originate any measure [69]; and perhaps there existed in early times separate officers, whose duty it was to procure the necessary revenues, and to attend solely to that point. The author of the Rhetorical Lexicon [70] declares, that the duties of the Poristæ (πορισταὶ) were of this nature, and Antiphon [71] classes them with the Poletæ and the Practores. It is upon the whole extremely difficult to define the extent of the duties and authority of the manager of the public revenue. He was not like the Apodectæ, an officer who only received money without having any funds, nor like the treasurers upon the Acropolis, was he merely a guardian of monies, which in the regular order of things were never paid out. The example

[69] I remark incidentally that Gillies (Observations upon the History, Customs, and Character of the Greeks, p. 136, of the German translation) supposes that the demagogues, Eucrates the wool-merchant, Lysicles the sheep-dealer, Hyperbolus the lamp-maker, and Cleon the leather-seller, were treasurers, which appears to be a false inference from Aristoph. Eq. 101 sqq. since whatever power they possessed, even where it extended to financial matters, was entirely derived from their character as demagogues.

[70] Lex. Seg. p. 294. 19. Πορισταί· πορισταί εἰσιν ἀρχή τις Ἀθήνησιν, ἥτις πόρους ἐζήτει· ἀπὸ τούτου γὰρ καὶ προσηγορεύθησαν.

[71] Περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ p. 791. extr. Demosthenes (Philip. I. p. 49. 17.) joins τῶν χρημάτων ταμίαι καὶ πορισταὶ, but he uses the word in such a manner that it cannot be assumed that it was a public office in his time.

of Lycurgus proves, that all the money which was received and disbursed passed through his hands; consequently he was the general receiver and superintendant of the offices of payment, or general paymaster, who received all the money paid in by the Apodectæ and appointed for fresh payments, and supplied the separate offices with the requisite sums; with the exception of the property taxes, which were doubtless paid directly into the war office, as war supplies. The tributes originally formed an exception, since they remained under the management of the Hellenotamiæ as long as they were independant of the finances of Athens, a separation which was perhaps retained until the abolition of the Hellenotamiæ. This officer defrayed all expences that were necessary for the administration (διοίκησις); to which all the regular expences in time of peace belonged. In the first place, the duties (τέλη) were assigned to this department, together with certain other contributions[72]. The keeping and the management of these monies also unquestionably devolved upon this officer. As the payment of the judges' salaries evidently belongs to the administration, the justice-fees, although there existed a particular office for them, must likewise have been under his management; neither can there be any doubt that he exercised a general superintendence over the collection of all the revenues; for it could only have been by virtue of this authority that Lycurgus was able to prevent the farmer of the duties from requiring protection-money of Xenocrates[73], and that Aristides was enabled to point out the frauds and embezzlements of the public money[74]; and hence it can

[72] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 731. 4.

[73] Vit. Dec. Orat. in Lycurg.

[74] Plutarch. Aristid. ut sup.

be explained how Lycurgus was able to increase every branch of the revenue, to purchase many valuable ornaments for the public use, and to lay by a surplus sufficient for the construction of great buildings and fleets[75]. In short, the manager of the public revenue had alone of all the public officers, the whole superintendence of the revenue and expenditure, and was therefore in a situation to give the surest judgment as to the possibility of increasing the former and of diminishing the latter, and to propose beneficial measures to the senate and to the people; he was under other circumstances what the minister of finance or the chancellor of the exchequer is in modern States. Valesius[76] is probably correct in referring to this treasurer the passage in Aristophanes, in which it is said that the treasurer had the seal of the people; although it is possible that it might have been entrusted to the treasurers upon the Acropolis, for the purpose of sealing the room in which the treasure was kept.[77].

The manager of the public revenue, being an officer who disbursed money, bore the name of treasurer of the administration (ταμίας τῆς διοικήσεως, or ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως), which latter office is identical with the first. Æschines[78] says, that Aphobetus, who was appointed for the administration (ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν διοίκησιν), also managed the public revenues justly and honourably (καλῶς καὶ δικαίως τῶν

[75] Lives of the Ten Orators, and the third Decree preserved there.

[76] Ad Harpocrat. in v. ἀποδέκται. The passage of Aristophanes is Eq. 943. where the Scholiast incorrectly interprets it as if it was only the administration of the Prytaneia.

[77] See Inscript. 76. §. 6.

[78] Περὶ παραπρεσβ. p. 315.

ὑμετέρων προσόδων ἐπιμεληθείς): Lycurgus, when he filled the situation of manager of the revenue, also superintended the administration (διοίκησις), as we learn from the authors of the Lives of the Ten Orators and of the Epistles of Demosthenes[79], and is distinctly proved by the fact that he annually paid out and accounted for the whole revenue. Pollux[80] also sufficiently proves the identity of these two offices, when he calls the person at the head of the administration (ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως), an officer for the revenue and expenditure (ἐπὶ τῶν προσιόντων καὶ ἀναλισκομένων), elected, not chosen by lot. In this capacity he must have issued all payments for police, building, provision of ornaments used in processions, public sacrifices, and the celebration of festivals, the latter belonging to the sacred administration (ἱερὰ διοίκησις)[81], in opposition to the civil (ὁσία). Thus Lycurgus, by virtue of this office, superintended the building of the docks, of the gymnasia, palæstras, theatres, arsenal, &c. and the supply of articles for sacred uses[82], as well as of the money required for the provision of ships, arms, and artillery, which was appointed to be made in times of peace, a duty also performed by Lycurgus; together with all salaries payable in time of peace, and the other expences of the domestic administration. Particular funds were also created for single parts of the administration, which the treasurer of the public revenue superintended. The Theoricon and the war office were however wholly independent of his authority, and into one of these

[79] Epist. III.

[80] VIII. 113.

[81] Xenoph. Hellen. VI. 1, 2. Cf. Demosth. in Timocrat. p. 730. 24. p. 731. 1.

[82] Lives of the Ten Orators.

two funds he paid all the surplus money which he received, as will be presently shewn, after which he ceased to have any farther charge of it; for a considerable time indeed a great part of the administration itself was under the care of the treasurers of the Theoricon, several offices having been consolidated in them. Two statements, by which it might seem that the manager of the public revenue was also treasurer of the Theoricon, admit of a satisfactory explanation. Lycurgus obtained the condemnation of Diphilus, who had committed some offence connected with the mines which this person held in lease from the State, and distributed the confiscated property among the people, after the manner of the Theorica[83]. This case however manifestly proves nothing, as it was an extraordinary measure, and not in the regular course of business. "When Demades had under him the revenues of the State," says Plutarch[84], "the Athenians being eager to dispatch some vessels to the assistance of those who had revolted from Alexander, called upon him to supply them with money: from which project he succeeded in dissuading the people by answering to them, 'Money you certainly are provided with, for I have so arranged it that each citizen should receive half a mina at the Choëis, but if you prefer applying it to this purpose, make what use you please of your own property." From the writer's expression it might at first sight be thought that Demades was manager of the public revenue: but as Demades appears solely in the capacity of a director of the Theorica, who at the festivals and games

[83] Lives of the Ten Orators.

[84] Præc. Reip. Ger. 25. ὅτι τὰς προσόδους εἶχεν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ τῆς πόλεως. The date of the event is Olymp. 112. 2. Cf. ad Inscript. VIII.

distributed money among the citizens; and as Plutarch's words that "*he had the revenues of the State under him*," do not necessarily refer to a treasurer of the administration, we should not, in my opinion, be justified in assuming that he filled the latter office, to which so thoughtless and extravagant a man must appear but ill adapted. For a manager of the Theorica he was much better fitted; since the more careless and immoral a person in that situation was, the more could be expected from his administration of the office. Demades had contrived that the coffers of the Theorica should be well filled; in time of war however these funds were always claimed by the well-disposed for military preparations; and the contest which was carried on at Athens, as to whether the money of the Theorica was or was not to be applied to the uses of war, has become notorious. If this latter fact is taken in connexion with the above narration, it will evidently appear that Demades had not the entire administration of the public revenue, but only of the money of the Theorica.

For the superintendence of works of architecture, such as the building of walls, streets, docks, and ships, and for the provision of the sacrifices, particular authorities were appointed (τειχοποιοὶ, ὁδοποιοὶ, ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων, τριηροποιοὶ, ἱεροποιοὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν and ἐπιμήνιοι &c.), some of whom remained in office for a whole year, others acted only as commissioners for a shorter period [85]. All these officers had their respective paymasters dependent upon the several treasurers of the administration. It is proved by inscriptions [86] that money was paid into the hands of the managers of the sacrifices as well as to the Athlothetæ; and although

[85] Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 425.

[86] See Inscript. 144 and 147.

it appears that money was sometimes paid into their hands by the treasurers of the goddess, these payments must be considered only as contributions, since according to the regular course their money ought to have been derived from the funds of the administration [87]. The treasurer of the ship-builders (ταμίας τῶν τριηροποιῶν) is particularly mentioned [88], as well as the treasurers of the builders of the walls (ταμίαι τῶν τειχοποιῶν), and it is expressly stated that the latter received their money from the funds of the administration [89]; Demosthenes mentions among other duties of the administration the payment for the wages of the dicasts, of the assembly, of the senate, and of the cavalry [90]: for these particular payments separate boards must necessarily have been appointed under the treasurer of the administration; yet we find that in the Peloponnesian war, the Hellenotamiæ disbursed money out of the treasury for the cavalry [91]. The Thesmothetæ paid the wages of the assembly [92] out of the monies of the administration, and they probably had also their own paymasters for that purpose. Lastly, since the sacred triremes received pay even in time of peace (the Paralos for certain, and probably the Salaminia and the Ammonis), it is natural to suppose that their treasurers were in a great measure under the superintendence of the treasurer of the administration. The treasurer of the Paralos was an officer of

[87] Because they were for the ἱερὰ διοίκησις, Demosth. in Timocrat. p. 730. 24. p. 731. 1.

[88] Demosth. in Androt. p. 598.

[89] ἐκ τῆς διοικήσεως. See Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 425. p. 426. p. 415. p. 422.

[90] In Timocrat. p. 731. 1—5. and 21, 22.

[91] See the Choiseul Inscription (n. 147.)

[92] See book II. 14.

distinction, and he was appointed by Cheirotonia, as much money passed through his hands in addition to that which was paid for the uses of the vessel: the others were elected in the same manner[93]: these treasurers of the sacred triremes (respecting whom Harpocration and Pollux and other grammarians have derived their knowledge from Aristotle) supplied the expences of the trierarch[94]. Smaller payments of a domestic nature were probably made at once by the treasurer of the administration, without the appointment of a particular board. Thus the charge for engraving the decrees was assigned to him[95]. This duty

[93] Demosth. in Mid. p. 570. 3, 13, 15. and more particularly l. 24. and Ulpian's note.

[94] This is the way in which Pollux (VIII. 116.) should be understood, ταμίας ἐκάλουν τοὺς ταῖς ἱεραῖς τριήρεσι λειτουργοῦντας, ἄλλους δὲ τριηραρχους. The State was properly the trierarch of the sacred triremes; but it was necessary that they should have trierarchs who represented the State. The reading of Jungermann's manuscript, ἢ for δὲ, is probably correct. Harpocration, and from him Suidas, say, εἰσὶ δέ τινες καὶ τῶν τριήρων ταμίαι, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς φιλόσοφός φησιν, viz. Aristotle, a passage which refers to the sacred triremes alone, as is proved by Photius in v. ταμίαι. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ταμίαι ἄρχοντες χειροτονητοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἱερὰς καὶ δημοσίας τριήρεις, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πάραλον, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἄμμωνος. Δημόσιαι is here put in opposition to those furnished at the expence of the trierarchs. The following observation from the Maricas of Eupolis appears to refer to treasurers of all the trierarchs, and will be considered in a subsequent part of this work, although a definitive decision is not possible, as is remarked in book IV. 11. The treasurer of the Ammonis is mentioned by both Suidas and Photius in v. ταμίαι. The State moreover paid the money directly into the hands of the trierarchs, as is shewn elsewhere.

[95] As for instance in the Decree in Diog. Laert. VII. in the Life of Zeno, the date of which is unknown, but it is later than

on one occasion fell upon the treasurer of the people (ταμίας τοῦ δήμου), by which the same office is meant, and it is particularly directed that the payments should be made out of the money which was set apart for the expences of the decrees (τὰ ἐς τὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκόμενα τῷ δήμῳ). This belongs to Olymp. 125. 2.[96]. In two other decrees there occurs a remarkable variation. In the one, which is of later date than Olymp. 119. 1. it is ordered that the cost of engraving should be defrayed by the treasurers of the administration (οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει)[97]; in the other, which is of the age of Demosthenes, it is assigned to the treasurers (ταμίαι) without any further specification[98]. The latter

the 130th Olympiad, where he is distinctly called ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως.

[96] See the third Decree after the Lives of the Ten Orators.

[97] Decret. ap. Chandl. Inscript. II. 12. ad fin. Μερίσαι, the expression here used, refers to the single numbers of the different items of the expenditure, as in the Decree in Diog. Laert. and the Decree of the Tyrian merchant at Delos, in Spon. Misc. Erud. Antiq. X. 70. p. 344. also in the Salaminian Decree published by A. E. Köhler Dörpt. Beitr. 1814. first half p. 62. where there is the following sentence: μερίσαι δὲ τὸν ταμίαν Φιλοκλῆν Πειραιέα ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ [κατὰ] ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων τῷ δήμῳ. Similarly in several unpublished Inscriptions. [Induxit me olim (Œc. Civ. II. 6.) decretum pro Lycurgo scriptum (Vit. Dec. Orat. Decr. III.), ut in Salaminio Titulo vocem κατὰ delendam putarem; nam ibi in fine habetur: ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων τῷ δήμῳ. Sed nisi huic quoque formulæ eandem, quam prioribus, sententiam tribuere malis, potius illud decretum corrigendum est, et scribendum ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα.]

[98] Decree for Straton, king of Sidon, in the Marm. Oxon. XXIV. ed. Chandl. line 16. I omit the Decree which Chishull has given from Ainsworth in Ant. Asiat. p. 164, because the treasurer of the city is inserted in it by conjecture.

are doubtless the same as those who in the first decree are called οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει; for it is manifest that these were the only treasurers who could have paid the money: but it is remarkable that several treasurers of the administration are here mentioned, as nothing is stated in any other place of there having been more than one. In both cases it is possible that their office was only temporary: from the nature of the proceedings we should *a priori* expect that frequent alterations would take place in the administration of finance, and both before and after these decrees we find only one treasurer of the administration mentioned.

The statement made above upon the authority of Pollux [99], that a separate office was created for paying the wages of the Dicasts, which was dependent upon the treasurers of the administration, will be more clearly illustrated by the consideration of the Colacretæ, respecting whom all that occurs in the ancient writers has been collected by Ruhnken [100], without any light having been thrown upon the nature of their problematical office. The singular name by which they are designated, is of itself sufficient to prove that they had their origin in very remote times; they were called κωλακρέται from collecting certain parts of the victims (properly κωλαγρέται) [101], an expression which shews that they must have been the superintendents of the provisions at certain public feasts; and this supposition agrees with the well-established facts,

[99] VIII. 113. where ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως is mentioned in connection with the pay of the dicasts.

[100] Ad Tim. Plat. Lex. p. 171.

[101] As Timæus (p. 171.) and Photius write according to the derivation. Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 693. and thence Suidas in his second article.

that they also took charge of the gifts, which the kings in the most ancient times, and afterwards the Archons and Prytanes in their capacity of judges, received for the administration of justice, and that they had the management of every thing connected with financial matters, such at least as at that time could have been in existence. It is possible that the Pyrander who is said by the ancients to have been treasurer at so remote a period as that of the Eleusinian war, was only a Colacretes of the king; and as we find in use at Cyzicus a verb which was derived from the office of Colacretæ, it is evident that they came with the ancient colony of Neleus to Miletus, and from thence to Cyzicus, like the Diana of Munychia, and the names of the four ancient Athenian tribes. Solon left the Colacretæ untouched, acting on a policy which he appears to have followed in numerous instances; Cleisthenes, always fond of innovation, established the Apodectæ in their stead [102]; the Colacretæ were now no longer receivers of the taxes, but became a subordinate department: to whom however could they be subordinate? According to the great Etymologist, they were treasurers of the money and managers of the trierarchy. This could only have been the case before the time of Cleisthenes, when indeed they might have had all the liturgies of the citizens under their superintendence, including the provision of the triremes; as to the later period in which we have more accurate information respecting the trierarchy, this assertion is absurd, nor does there any where occur the slightest confirmation of it; neither could they after the time of Cleisthenes have been treasurers upon the Acropolis and guardians of the sacred money, although

[102] Androtion ap. Harpocrat. in v. ἀποδέκται.

Pollux [103] confounds them with the treasurers of the Goddess. All that we know for certain is, that they paid the wages of the Dicasts [104], a fact which appears as well from passages in the grammarians, as from the testimony of the poet Aristophanes [105]. These stipends they probably distributed in person, as subordinate officers to the treasurer of the administration. Aristophanes the grammarian expressly asserts, as well as Hesychius, that they had nothing to attend to except the payment of the Dicasts [106], a testimony which of all others is deserving of the greatest credit. According to the statement of the grammarian of the library of St. Germain, who has been quoted by Ruhnken and published by Bekker [107], they had authority over the fines in the courts of justice; but this is evidently a mistake, the reason of which however is that the Prytaneia and the other justice-fees, which the grammarian might call fines, were set apart for paying the Dicasts, and consequently either directly or indirectly were delivered over to the Colacretæ. The Scholiast to Aristophanes [108] again enumerates the provision of the public entertainments in the Prytaneum as one of their duties, a circumstance of so little importance that Aris-

[103] VIII. 97.

[104] Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 693. and 723. Av. 1540. Photius and Timæus ut sup. Lex. Seg. p. 275. Hesychius and Suidas in v. κωλακρέται, the second article of the latter grammarian being taken from the Scholiast of Aristophanes.

[105] In the passages just quoted.

[106] Aristoph. Grammat. ap. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1540. Hesych. ut sup.

[107] Lex. Seg. p. 190. 15.

[108] Av. 1540.

tophanes the grammarian probably did not think proper to mention it: and indeed we are compelled to suppose that they performed this or some analogous duty; for as their office originated before the time of Cleisthenes, and the wages of the Dicasts were first introduced by Pericles, they must between these two periods have performed some duty; and this was doubtless the management of the entertainments in the Prytaneum, a relic of their more ancient office. The single fact that the justice-fees were called Prytaneia proves that they were once paid to the Prytanes, as judges in the Prytaneum; which money may have been allotted to defraying the expences of their meals (what relation the Prytanes bore to the Archons with regard to the judicial authority, the latter being also judges, is foreign to the present question): and when the payment of the Dicasts was afterwards introduced, it seemed for this reason the obvious and natural course to assign to them this latter duty. Thus we find a perfect agreement between two duties which at first sight appeared of a very different nature; and it cannot well be doubted that they continued from this time forth to perform both together. We must now subjoin what is adduced by the Scholiast to the Birds of Aristophanes, in order to confute the assertion of Aristophanes the grammarian, which I have implicitly followed in the above discussion. Androtion the antiquary had written, that according to some law the Colacretæ were bound to furnish the Pythian Theori with money for their voyage and other expences out of the Ναυκληρικά; from this circumstance the Colacretæ have been considered the same with the treasurers of Minerva, and the grammarians have derived their statement from this authority that the funds

for the festivals or for the gods [109] were under their regulations. We shall in vain attempt to discover what the ναυκληρικὰ were: it is clear to me that the monies of the Naucrarias (properly ναυκραρικὰ according to the ancient form) are meant; but it also appears to me probable that Androtion, who as well as Philochorus had in some things an extensive, in others an imperfect, knowledge of the earliest times of the Athenian State, spoke of the regulations anterior to Cleisthenes in the passage in which he quoted this law. In this manner Aristophanes the grammarian and Androtion can be easily reconciled; and we must not consider that the Colacretæ continued to be treasurers of the sacred monies after the time of Cleisthenes, which besides would not accord with other ascertained facts.

(7.) A separate office existed during a long period for the management of the tributes, the Hellenotamiæ or treasurers of the Greeks; to these the administration of the monies at Delos, or the Ἑλληνοταμία, belonged [110], when in consequence of the treachery of Pausanias after the battle of Platææ (Olymp. 75. 2.) Athens had obtained the command, and every financial office was under the direction of Aristides. This situation was at first exclusively held by Athenians: the duty attached to it was to receive the tributes, and to deposit them in the Delian treasury in the temple of Apollo, where the meetings of the allies were

[109] Ap. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1540. Vesp. 623. Timæus, Lex. Seg. and Photius.

[110] Xenoph. de Vectig. 5. 5. unless the right reading is Ἑλληνοταμιείας.

held [111]. There can be no doubt that they continued to be the guardians of these monies [112]; their office was retained when the funds were removed to Athens under the pretence of greater security: a proceeding which Aristides declared to be unjust, though expedient: but the whole injustice of it first originated with the lavish expenditure on the part of Pericles [113]. After the Anarchy however no more traces of the Hellenotamiæ occur; under the new administration they were not reestablished, the ascendancy of Athens and the tributary condition of the allies having ceased: and although Athens was again enabled to exact tributes from the dependent States, this office was never again created for the management of them [114]. From this reason the grammarians know scarcely any thing of these treasurers; Harpocration says, upon the authority of Aristotle, that they were an office at Athens which had the management of money; the Etymologist affirms that they were the guardians of the common monies of Greece: Suidas [115] furnishes nothing that is not known from other sources: Pollux [116] asserts that they collected the

[111] Thucyd. I. 96. Nepos Aristid. 3. Plutarch. Aristid. 24. Andocid. de Pace p. 107. which oration was called in question by the ancients, but is evidently the production of Andocides. Antiphon also (de cæde Herod. p. 739.) mentions the office, without our deriving any information from him.

[112] Schol. Thucyd. I. 96.

[113] Plutarch. Aristid. 25. Pericl. 12. Nepos ut sup. Diod. XII. 38.

[114] The Hellenotamias, who according to the Lives of the Ten Orators (in the Life of Lycurgus) was banished in the Democracy after the thirty tyrants, had previously held this office.

[115] Vol. I. p. 715.

[116] VIII. 14. Zonaras in v. Ἑλληνοταμίαι, where it should be written ἐν Δήλῳ, hardly deserves to be mentioned.

tributes, and had under their superintendence the constitutions of the tributary islands; whereas the latter duty rather belonged to the Episcopi, and the former was wholly unnecessary, as the tributaries themselves paid in the money during the spring at the time of the Dionysia [117], which were celebrated annually in the city; particular persons for collecting them (ἐκλογεῖς) were appointed only upon extraordinary occasions, who were different from the Hellenotamiæ; Hesychius is most correct in calling them the treasurers of the tribute accruing to the Athenians [118]. But the best information concerning them is afforded by some inscriptions of a date anterior to the Archonship of Euclid. The form of their nomination is unknown; it seems however to be probable that they were chosen by lot, like the treasurers of the gods, out of the Pentacosiomedimni. Barthélemy [119] says that they were ten in number, one out of each tribe: not only have I been unable to find any confirmation of this assertion, but I am able distinctly to refute it. In the Choiseul inscription (Olymp. 92. 3.) eleven Hellenotamiæ are mentioned; Callimachus of Hagnus, Phrasitelides of Icaria, Pericles of Cholargus, Dionysius of Cydathenæum, Thrason of Butade, Proxenus of Aphidna, Spudias of Phlyæ, Anætius of Sphettus, Phalanthus of Alopecæ, Eupolis of Aphidna, and Callias of Euonymia, of whom Pericles and

[117] Aristoph. Acharn. 504. and the Scholiast; ibid. 643. The date of the Achárnenses is Olymp. 88. 3. That the great Dionysia took place annually has been shewn by Corsini and others against the unimportant testimony of Scholiasts.

[118] Οἱ τοῦ κομιζομένου φόρου παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ταμίαι. An incorrect article in Lex. Seg. p. 188. (διϰ. ὀνόμ.) I entirely pass over.

[119] Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions vol. XLVIII. p. 341.

Anætius were of the same tribe Acamantis, and the two Aphidnæans of the tribe Leontis; and still more, Pericles and Anætius were both Hellenotamiæ in the same, viz. the sixth Prytanea, and both the Aphidnæans in like manner in the seventh. From this we are compelled to suppose either that no regard was paid to the tribes (which was not by any means necessary, as the office originally had no concern with the home administration), of that several were chosen out of each tribe. The former supposition appears to me the most probable, and I conceive that their number was only ten, and that they did not enter into their office at the beginning of the year, but after the Panathenæa and the first Prytanea: if this hypothesis is adopted, two of the persons who are mentioned, Callimachus and Phrasytelides, may be deducted from the eleven, and we have only nine in the inscription, who were colleagues in this office, the name of the tenth not having come down to us. Their duties are still more difficult to determine than their number. When the funds were at Delos, they must have acted at the same time both as Apodectæ and treasurers: afterwards the Apodectæ appear to have received the tributes, and the Hellenotamiæ to have been merely the managers of the fund thus collected [120]: when the tributes were commuted for a custom-duty, the Hellenotamiæ naturally remained as treasurers for these payments. The payments for certain selected purposes were assigned to their office; in the first place that for which the tributes were originally designed, namely, the expences of wars in the common cause and solemnities of alliance; but the Athenians afterwards considered the money as their own property, and used it

[120] Compare chap. 4.

for buildings and works of art, festivals, distributions, and Theorica [121]: the overplus was without doubt laid by among the public treasure in the Acropolis, which was chiefly formed from the tributes: but as soon as the money had been sent to Athens, or even before it was actually dispatched and only its place of destination had been fixed, it was no longer under the superintendence of these officers, but of the treasurers of the Goddess upon the Acropolis. We see, that money in their hands was assigned about the 90th Olympiad to the redemption of the public debts [122]; the only example, which we meet with of their having paid the money out of their own fund. On the other hand in Olymp. 92. 3. money was appointed to be paid to them from the public treasure for the provision of the cavalry, for Diobelia, and war expences [123]: at this period the cavalry appears to have been paid in time of peace by the Hellenotamiæ and not by the treasurers of the administration; for the treasurers of war and the managers of the Theoricon were not introduced until after the abolition of the Hellenotamiæ, who used to make all payments of this description. There is nothing in the fact of money being furnished to them from the public treasure, which ought to surprise us: for if their own funds were exhausted, the treasure would naturally be compelled to furnish whatever was sufficient to enable them to pay that which belonged to their department. In the same manner gold was lent to them out of the treasury to be paid to the Athlothetæ; but evidently from the sacred money [124]. Hence the payments which they had to make must have

[121] Plutarch. Aristid. 24. Pericl. 12.

[122] Inscript. 76. §. 3.

[123] Inscript. 147.

[124] Inscript. 144. 3d Prytan. 1st. item.

been considerable, and their duties cannot have been unimportant. In order to execute these with the greater facility they divided them among one another [125]; and to assist them they had as many as three superior Archons as assessors [126]. It must not with Barthélemy be thought singular that we only know of these officers from inscriptions, since of the Hellenotamiæ themselves we have such imperfect accounts.

As after the Archonship of Euclid no mention of Hellenotamiæ occurs, so before that time we hear of no treasurers of war or managers of the Theorica; the former having performed all the duties which subsequently belonged to the latter: and we are thence justified in assuming, that by the changes in the constitution made in the year of Euclid two new offices, the treasurer of war, and the manager of the Theorica, were instituted. The name of treasurer of war (ταμίας στρατιωτικῶν) is only once made use of, and this in reference to one Callias, who is stated by the author of the Lives of the Ten Orators [127] to have held that office in the Archonship of Chærondas (Olymp. 110. 3.); probably it was only filled in time of war, and discontinued when there was no armed force in motion. The funds for meeting the expences of war were, with the exception of certain tributes, derived from two sources; which however were both of a very uncertain nature. According to ancient laws [128] the

[125] As is proved by Inscript. 147.

[126] Inscript. 147. 6th Prytan. Inscript. 144. 3d Prytan. first item, and 8th Prytan. 4th item.

[127] In the Life of Lycurgus, according to the correction of Salmasius: for he is generally called Καλαιός. ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥ and ΚΑΛΑΙΟΥ only differ by a line.

[128] Orat. in Neær. p. 1346, 1347. Liban. Argum. Olynth. I. cf. Demosth. Olynth. I. p. 14. 19. and Olynth. III. (e. g.

surplus money of the administration was to be applied in times of war to the use of the army (τὰ περίοντα χρήματα τῆς διοικήσεως εἶναι στρατιωτικά): but the people had the madness to require that the surplus should always be used for the distribution of the Theorica; and the demagogue Eubulus even succeeded in passing a law, that if any person again proposed that the Theorica should be applied to the uses of war he should suffer death. This law, which crippled the martial power of the Athenians, was frequently attacked by the well-disposed: Demosthenes complained that the Athenians though possessing large funds for war, squandered them away upon festivals: Apollodorus was condemned to a fine of fifteen talents, for having proposed in Olymp. 106. 4. that the surplus money should be used for war, though for the time he attained his object[129]: and although even Eubulus in later times proposed that the Theorica should be applied to the purposes of war[130]; and although according to Philochorus[131], all the public money was at the instigation of Demosthenes in Olymp. 110. 2. applied to the military service, it was frequently in the power of treacherous or inconsiderable demagogues to deduct very large sums from the war funds by proposing a donation of money to the people: of which unworthy conduct Demades furnished a most striking instance. Besides this the extraordinary property-tax (εἰσφορὰ) was set apart for the expences of war[132];

p. 31.) Harpocr. in v. θεωρικά, and thence Suidas and the Etymologist. Cf. Ruhnk. Hist. Crit. Orat. p. 146. VIII. of Reiske's Orators.

[129] Orat. in Neær. p. 1346. 19. The date is evident from book IV. 13.

[130] Demosth. περὶ παραπρεσβ. p. 434. 24.

[131] Fragment. p. 76.

[132] Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1209. and passim.

but this being a tax which was unwillingly paid, the coffers were generally empty. Many higher as well as subordinate offices were requisite for the custody and disbursement of the war-funds. All those who bore the name of generals (as we know for certain to have been the case in the time of Demosthenes, and probably in earlier times also) were not in fact commanders of all the troops, but only generals of the infantry and cavalry of each separate army (στρατηγὸς ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων or ὁπλιτῶν, and ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων): of these one in his capacity of general of the administration (στρατηγὸς ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως) performed part of the judicial labours, together with other services: the duty of giving out the pay of the troops also devolved upon him [133], for which he must have had a treasurer of his own. Among his proposals for the equipment of the troops, Demosthenes [134] particularly recommends that treasurers and public slaves (δημόσιοι) should be appointed for the custody of the war-funds, in order that the strictest watch should be kept over their administration, and that these, and not the generals, should give an account of the manner in which the money had been employed. Many of the treasurers of the generals, who are mentioned in different writers, appear however to have been merely private paymasters, without being in the service of the State; thus for example Philocrates was the treasurer of Ergocles, and Antimachus of Timotheus, who managed every thing for this general, and also kept a

[133] Decret. ap. Demosth. de Corona, p. 265. 11.

[134] Orat. de Cherson. p. 101. 14. From this the whole passage in the fourth Philippic is borrowed (p. 137.), the spuriousness of which oration was perceived by Valckenaer, in his notes to his speech de Philipp. Maced. p. 251. and by Wolf Proleg. ad Lept. p. LX.

secretary for himself [135]. In the same manner the trierarchs had treasurers [136].

By means of the Theoricon (τὸ θεωρικὸν, τὰ θεωρικὰ, or θεωρικὰ χρήματα), the most pernicious institution of the age of Pericles, there arose in a petty republic a lavishness of expence, which was not proportionally less than that of the most luxurious courts, and which swallowed up vast sums at the very moment that the military operations were failing from want of the proper supplies. Under the term Theorica are comprised the monies which were distributed among the people, for the celebration of festivals and games [137], either to indemnify them for the entrance-money to the theatre, or to enable them to feast more plentifully: they were also in part expended upon sacrifices [138], with which a public entertainment was always combined. From the nature and character of this expence it may be expected that the surplus money of the administration was set apart for it; in the early times however this was frequently

[135] Lysias in Philocr. p. 829. Demosth. in Timoth. p. 1186. 17. p. 1187. 10.

[136] Eupolis ap. Harpocrat. in v. ταμίαι. Comp. book IV. 11. Whether Antiphanes, the treasurer of the ship's captain Philip (Demosth. in Timoth. p. 1188. 20. p. 1189. 2.), was of this description, or whether Philip was only a private individual, I leave undecided. By the treasurer who gave the crown to the trierarch that was the first in getting his ship ready equipped (Demosth. de Trierarch. Corona p. 1228. 5.), we must probably understand neither the treasurer of the trierarch, nor the treasurer of the trireme-builders, but the pay-master of war, to whom this duty is the most suitable.

[137] Poll. VIII. 113. Harpocr. Suid. Hesych. Etym. Ammonius.

[138] Demosth. de Corona p. 226. 22. See below chap. 13.

applied to replenishing or increasing the public treasure; whereas in later periods not only was no addition made to the treasure, but the war-funds did not even receive the surplus monies. The managers of the Theoricon are not called treasurers, although they evidently had the charge of a fund; they belonged to the number of officers of government, and were among the principal authorities elected by Cheirotonia[139]; it appears that their appointment took place about the time of the great Dionysia in the city[140]. Their number is no where mentioned; but there were most probably ten, one from each tribe; for in an office of such importance as this it cannot be well supposed that any other method of election was adopted. Their appellation is variable (ἀρχὴ ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ, ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ ὤν, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν χειροτονηθέντες, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν τεταγμένος, ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ καταστάθεις, θεωρικὴ ἀρχή, ἄρχων τῶν θεωρικῶν)[141]. To the original department of manager of the Theoricon was annexed at the time when Eubulus of Anaphlystus filled this situation, and had obtained the public confidence in a high degree, many of the other branches of the administration, particularly the control of the public revenues, the office of Apodectæ, the building of docks, of the arsenal, the construction of roads, (the latter perhaps in some degree because they were connected with the passage of processions), and nearly all the other duties of the administration, as Æschines informs us[142] in his capacity of manager of the Theoricon, Demosthenes was

[139] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 416, 418.

[140] Petit Leg. Att. III. 2. 35.

[141] Æsch. ut sup. Demosth. de Corona p. 264. 10. p. 243. 27. p. 266. 22. Lex. Seg. p. 264. Suidas and the Etymologist.

[142] Æschin. ut sup. p. 417 sqq.

also inspector of the building of the walls (τειχοποιὸς) [143]; and from the same cause Eubulus appears to have superintended the ship-building [144]. The extent of their power in such corrupt times cannot appear in the least surprising. The Theoricon promoted the private interest of the citizens; and therefore the assembly passed a decree by which they conferred extensive influence on any person who had either the will or the ability to fill the purses of individuals at the expence of the public. The Athenian people resembled a tyrant, and the funds of the Theoricon were analogous to his private purse; if a tyrant desired to have for the gratification of his own pleasures a private purse which should never be empty, he would take care to invest the managers of it with great power, and would leave to the branches of the administration only just so much of the public revenue as should not interfere with the proper supply of the privy purse. This contrivance of the Ochlocracy was abolished between Olymp. 110. 2. and 112. 3. by a decree proposed by Hegemon [145]. At what time the managers of the Theoricon were the assessors of the Poletæ, is not mentioned; but it is not necessary to suppose that they only performed this duty in the time of their extended authority. For since the surplus money of

[143] Æschin. ibid. p. 419, 425. Demosth. de Corona p. 243, 266.

[144] Dinarch. in Demosth. p. 66.

[145] Petit Leg. Att. III. 2. 36. In Olymp. 110. 3. Demosthenes was both inspector of the building of the walls, and manager of the Theorica, but only *accidentally at the same time*, as I have already remarked, without the two offices being at that period necessarily united.

the administration was in time of peace always set apart for the Theoricon, and to the administration, duties and taxes raised in Athens were regularly assigned, while confiscated property might appear to belong more peculiarly to the Theoricon, it is possible that this regulation was made when the office of manager of the Theorica was originally instituted.

(8.) From the multiplicity of these offices it is evident that the quantity of writing to be performed must have been considerable; the disbursements and receipts were to be entered, and particularly the respective purposes to which the monies were assigned; these together with the acknowledgments of payment, were to be noted down; and finally, the accounts were to be passed. All these duties came within the department of the secretary or clerk (γραμματεύς). Thus the treasurers of the sacred monies, and the Amphictyons of Delos had their secretary [146], and in like manner there were subordinate or private secretaries, as has been already remarked of Antimachus the paymaster of Timotheus. Citizens who were nominated to situations of this kind were commonly persons of small fortunes. Public slaves (δημόσιοι) however, who had been educated at the cost of the State, were also employed, and were sometimes appointed for keeping accounts, of the generals for instance, and the paymasters in times of war [147], some as checking-clerks (ἀντιγραφεῖς, *Contrarotulatores*), as for example the clerks who checked the accounts of the treasurers of the sacred monies, and of the war-taxes, although Demosthenes thinks that each con-

[146] Inscript. 139, 141, 150, 158.

[147] Demosth. de Cherson. p. 101. 14. and thence Philipp. IV. p. 137. Ulpian ad Demosth. Olynth. II.

tributor, ought to perform for himself the office of a comptroller[148]. A clerk in the employ of the State was never a slave; and although the clerk Nicomachus is called by Lysias[149] a public slave (δημόσιος), this instance does not apply, for he was only an underclerk, and not one of the principal clerks or secretaries; and the orator gives him that name in reference only to his father; for he himself had been entered in the register of the Phratores, and consequently was a citizen. But the chief reason why the Athenians preferred the public slaves for comptrolling the accounts, was, that they could be put to the torture, and torture was considered as the surest means of eliciting the truth[150]. Freemen could not be tortured upon the rack, nor yet resident aliens or foreigners, as Gillies asserts; for it was prohibited by the decree of Scamandrius, that any citizen should be put to the torture for the purpose of examination[151]; and what Lysias says of Theodotus a youth of Platææ, that he might

[148] Demosth. in Androt. p. 615. 12 sqq. Lex. Seg. p. 197.

[149] In Nicom. p. 842. cf. p. 836, 837.

[150] Demosth. in Aphob. ψευδομ. p. 846. 7. p. 848. 8. p. 856. 20. That more weight was given to the assertions of slaves upon the rack than to the sworn testimony of free-men, is also shewn by Hudtwalcker *von den Diäteten* p. 51.

[151] Andocid. de Myst. p. 22. The torture of the concubine of Antiphon (κατηγ. φαρμ. p. 615.), provided that she was a free woman, which is not certain, must be considered as a punishment, and not as a means of examination. Against the assertion made in the text, that freemen in Attica could not be put to the torture, may be adduced a passage in Antiphon (de Herod. cæde, p. 729.), in which it is stated that a freeman was tortured at Mytilene: but whether a Mytilenæan or a foreigner, whether according to the Lesbian or Athenian law, cannot be decided.

have been put to the torture [152], must be rather considered as an exception, as the Platæans were citizens. Besides these subordinate checking-clerks, there were others of a superior class, who were in part confounded with the secretaries or clerks. It is difficult to obtain a clear knowledge of these officers at Athens; in the mean time thus far is certain that there were three public clerks, as we learn from Suidas [153]. Pollux [154] gives a more exact account; one was chosen by lot by the senate in every Prytanea, for the purpose of keeping the writings and decrees, and is the officer who prefixed his name to the decrees according to the form which was in use before the Archonship of Euclid: of this secretary Aristotle had according to Harpocration [155] treated at length: the second was elected by the senate by Cheirotonia for the laws; a third, elected by the people, was the public reader in the senate and the Assembly. The first in an inscription of the time of the Emperors is called the clerk according to the Prytanea (*γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν*) [156], where it is not so easy to perceive why he should be enumerated among

[152] Apol. in Simon. p. 153. What Reiske says upon this passage does not remove the difficulty.

[153] Suidas, *κληρωτοὶ δὲ (γραμματεῖς) ἦσαν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς γράφοντες τὰ δημόσια. οὐδενὸς δὲ ἦσαν κύριοι ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ γράφειν καὶ ἀναγνῶναι.* The first word, *κληρωτοὶ*, is false in this general sense.

[154] VIII. 98. *γραμματεὺς, ὁ κατὰ πρυτανείαν κληρωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῷ [τὰ] γράμματα φυλάττειν καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ ἕτερος ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς χειροτονούμενος. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου αἱρεθεὶς γραμματεὺς ἀναγινώσκει τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ.* A *γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς* occurs in Demosth. pro Corona p. 238. 14. and *τοῦ δήμου* in the third decree in the Lives of the Ten Orators.

[155] In v. *γραμματες.*

[156] Chandl. Inscript. II. 55. 2.

the Æsitæ, as one should rather have expected that he would only have had the privilege of being fed in the Prytaneum for a single Prytanea; a fresh one was appointed in every Prytanea, and the name of the clerk of the first Prytanea was added to the decrees before the Archonship of Euclid, and was frequently made use of to designate the year[157]. Harpocration states that it was the duty of this officer to check the public accounts[158]; but he doubtless confounds them with the checking-clerks. The second appears to be the clerk of the senators (γραμματεὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν) occurring in inscriptions[159], of whom I have nothing more to say than that he is never mentioned among the Æsitæ, but always among the Prytanes. Lastly, the third clerk is called the clerk of the State (γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως) or of the senate and the people (τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου)[160], and is placed in inscriptions among the

[157] Vid. ad Inscript. 147. et 76.

[158] Καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀντιγράφεται καὶ παρακάθηται τῇ βουλῇ. The confusion with the checking-clerk is evident from the words of Pollux VIII. 98. where it is said of him, καὶ πάντα ἀντιγράφετο παρακαθήμενος τῇ βουλῇ. This had been remarked by Valesius in his notes to Harpocration, against whom Kühn's objections (ad Poll. VIII. 98.) prove nothing.

[159] Chandl. II. 55. 1, 2, 3, 4. Spon Travels vol. III. in the inscription belonging to the second vol. p. 116 sqq. That he may not be considered the same as the clerk according to the Prytaneia, the distinction between them in Chandl. II. 55. 2. should be observed. There are likewise many other similar inscriptions, in which these clerks of the senators and the others occur.

[160] Thucyd. VII. 10. and the inscriptions just quoted. Besides Valesius, authorities have been collected upon this subject by Meursius Lect. Att. VI. 25. Petit III. 2. 28. Barthélemy

Æsitæ. These officers had an under-clerk (ὑπογραμματεύς): and a considerable number of such persons were used even in the ancient days of Athens, some of whom were employed in the higher, and some in the inferior and subordinate offices[161]; the checking-clerks were however different from these superior secretaries or clerks, as we have already seen in the case of the inferior. A checking-clerk of the senate (ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς βουλῆς) is quoted by Harpocration out of Aristotle's state of Athens[162], and a checking-clerk without any farther specification frequently occurs in ancient inscriptions, and always among the Æsitæ. According to Pollux[163] he was in ancient times elected and afterwards chosen by lot: the checking-clerk of the senate is also mentioned by Suidas[164], as well as by the Scholiast to Aristophanes[165], who however confounds him with the

Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, vol. XLVIII. p. 345. The ὑπογραμματεὺς occurs in the inscriptions already quoted; in that published by Spon the editor incorrectly reads ΠΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ.

[161] Antiph. de Choreut. p. 792. Demosth. pro Corona, p. 314. 7. ὑπογραμματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις, Lysias in Nicom. p. 864. ter.

[162] Harpocrat. in v. ἀντιγραφεύς· ὁ καθιστάμενος ἐπὶ τῶν καταβαλλόντων τινὰ τῇ πόλει χρήματα, ὥστε ἀντιγράφεσθαι ταῦτα. Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀνδροτίωνος (a passage which is not to the point, as it relates to subordinate checking-clerks), καὶ Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος. διττοὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀντιγραφεῖς, ὁ μὲν τῆς διοικήσεως, ὡς φησι Φιλόχορος· ὁ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ. The whole passage is also in Suidas.

[163] VIII. 98. Cf. Lex. Seg. p. 190. 26.

[164] In v. γραμματεὺς, where see Küster's note. Compare also Lex. Seg. p. 185. 16.

[165] Eq. 1253. The following is the whole of this corrupt passage: ἐπὶ δὲ δήμου (ὁ γραμματεὺς) ὑπογραφεὺς ἐλέγετο. ὁ δὲ τοῦ

clerk. According to Pollux his duty was to sit in the senate and exercise a general control; a statement which may perhaps be true, but that the duty which Harpocration attributes to the checking-clerk, of comptrolling the receipts of the revenues, refers to this office, is evident, the taxes having been paid in presence of the senate. Lastly it is manifest that Æschines[166] alludes to this officer, when he remarks that the State had a checking-clerk elected by Cheirotonia, who kept an account of the revenues for the people in each Prytanea, until this situation was united with the office of the Theoricon, and consequently the duties of the Apodectæ, and the checking of the accounts, were injudiciously placed in the same hands. Besides this checking-clerk for monies received, there was also a checking-clerk of the highest authority for disbursements, viz. the treasurer of the administration, who was called the checking-clerk of the administration (ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς διοικήσεως)[167]. It is probable that all clerks and checking-clerks (and certainly the latter) were prohibited from holding the same office twice[168], i. e. not for two

βουλευτηρίου, ἀντιγραφεύς. δημοσίου δὲ γενομένου, ἔγραψεν, ἀμφότερα, τὰ λεγόμενα. The latter words, which are entirely devoid of meaning, Kühn (ad Poll. VIII. 98.) endeavours to correct; but his correction does not make any better sense. The ὑπογραφεὺς may be the ὑπογραμματεὺς of the inscriptions. Petit also (ut sup.) remarks the confusion between the clerk and checking-clerk in this passage.

[166] In Ctesiph. p. 417. Cf. Ulpian. ad Demosth. in Androt. ut sup.

[167] Philochorus ap. Harpocrat. ut sup. and thence Suidas and Pollux VIII. 98, 99. according to the correct emendation of Valesius upon Harpocration.

[168] This is evidently the meaning of the law in Lysias c.

successive years, and it was necessary that a new person should be appointed after the interval of a year.

The public accounts being in this manner kept by the clerks, and comptrolled by the checking-clerks, it was rendered possible to make the scrutiny which was regularly entered into at the expiration of every office. It is the essence of a democracy that every public officer should be responsible. Among the distinguishing marks of a Democratic authority, responsibility is one of the most prominent; while in the Aristocratical and Oligarchical States of antiquity, such as Sparta and Crete, the highest offices in which the Aristocracy and Oligarchy really existed, were subject to no responsibility. Hence the obligation of rendering accounts for official conduct prevailed to so great an extent at Athens: no person who had had any share in the government or administration was exempted from it; the Senate of 500, even the Areopagus, at least after the loss of their great power, were bound to render an account: even the priests and priestesses were obliged to produce accounts for the gifts (γέρα); so also whole families, such as the Eumolpidæ and Ceryces, and even the trierarchs, although the latter furnished every thing at their own expence; no person who had not rendered his account, could go abroad, consecrate his property to a god, or even dedicate a sacred offering; no one could make a will, or be adopted from one family into another; in short, the legislature had mortgaged the whole property of the individual until he had passed his scrutiny [169]. In the same manner no

Nicom. p. 864. extr. ὑπογεγραμματεῦσαι οὐκ ἔξεστι δὶς τὸν αὐτὸν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇ αὐτῇ, although the expression is somewhat singular; but from the context it appears to me that this is the only way in which it can be understood.

[169] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 405 sqq.

honorary gift or reward (such for example as a crown) could be awarded to a person who had not passed his scrutiny [170]. The Dicasts alone were free from this obligation [171]. Now those authorities whose business it was to pass and examine the accounts of public officers were according to Aristotle [172] called in the Greek States, in some places εὔθυνοι, in others λογισταὶ, ἐξεταστὰι, or συνήγοροι. That the Logistæ of the Athenians were employed in matters of calculation is proved by their name; the Euthuni were in intimate connexion with them: the difference between their duties was not however, as is supposed by some, that the Logistæ had authority in those cases only which concerned the administration of public money, while the Euthuni acted in all other cases; but all questions belonged indiscriminately to either authority. In the examinations of persons who either had or had not the management of money, the Logistæ, after the account had been rendered before them and the secretary (probably of the senate and the people), brought the cause into court, where they gave out by means of the Herald that they were ready to hear any accusation [173]. The intimate connexion between the two offices is strikingly proved by the decree in Andocides, in which mention is made of those whose accounts were found unsatisfactory in the Logisteria by the Euthuni or the assessors, and affording ground for an indictment [174]: lastly εὔθυνα is often used in speaking of

170 Æsch. and Demosth. pro Corona.

171 Arist. Vesp. 585. See Hudtwalcker von den Diäteten p. 32.

172 Polit. in the last chapter of the 6th book.

173 Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 403 sqq. Demosth. pro Corona, p. 266. 9.

174 De Myst. p. 37. ὅσων εὐθυναί τινες εἰσι κατεγνωσμέναι ἐν τοῖς λογιστηρίοις (see Lysias in Polystr. p. 672.) ὑπὸ τῶν εὐθύνων ἢ τῶν

the Logistæ and λογισμὸς in speaking of the Euthuni; and the Etymologist says [175] that in his time those were called Logistæ who formerly had borne the name of Euthuni. The distinction between them had been explained by Aristotle in the Constitution of Athens [176]; but the grammarians do not give any precise information upon this point. According to Harpocration [177], there were ten Logistæ, to whom every person gave an account of his proceedings within thirty days after the expiration of his office; and the same number of Euthuni, whose duties were precisely the same. All authorities agree in stating that both the Logistæ and Euthuni were ten in number [178].

παρέδρων. The last words appear to be an interpretation which has crept into the text: but I do not venture to strike them out, as assessors of the Euthyni were elected.

[175] In v. εὔθυνοι, from whom Photius and Zonaras took; in the latter of which grammarians read Πλάτων Νόμων δωδεκάτῳ.

[176] Ap. Harpocrat.

[177] In v. λογισταὶ and εὔθυνοι, and thence Suidas and Photius in v. λογισταὶ and εὔθυνοι, also Lex. Seg. p. 245, 276. The person is called εὔθυνος and εὐθύνης, in the plural εὔθυνοι and εὐθύναι, the proceeding is ἡ εὔθυνα (see the law in Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 717. 19. where however it is falsely accented εὐθύνα), in the plural εὔθυναι; likewise ἡ εὐθύνη, which the grammarians quote as the common form, but which is perhaps of later origin. [Doctissimo Boeckhio Staatshaush. d. Athener I. p. 205. ἡ εὔθυνα antiquior forma esse videtur, ἡ εὐθύνη contra recentior. Sed analogiæ dialecti Atticæ magis consentaneum est εὐθύνη. Nullum enim, quod sciam, apud Atticos vocabulum in ῦνα invenitur. De ἄμυνα non Attico vid. Phryn. p. 23. Lob. et Ruhnk. ad Tim. p. 26. Contra κορύνη, αἰσχύνη, ταμύνη, etc. Quamobrem apud Atticos forma αἱ εὐθῦναι ubique anteponenda est formæ αἱ εὔθυναι. Göttling ad Aristot. Polit. p. 359.]

[178] Etymol. in v. εὔθυνοι, Photius, and Pollux VIII. 45. From

Pollux gives us an important addition, viz. "that the senate chose the Logistæ by lot, in order to attend," as he expresses himself, "upon the officers of the administration," that is, to watch over their conduct; "but the Euthuni were chosen in addition, like the assessors of the nine Archons [179]." What constituted the difference of their duties

Pollux VIII. 99. Petit III. 2. 6. concludes that there were two other Logistæ: but this passage refers, as has been already observed, to the two checking-clerks.

[179] Pollux VIII. 99, 100. where he says, *οἱ δὲ εὔθυνοι, ὥσπερ οἱ πάρεδροι τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρχουσι, προσαιροῦνται.* Comp. upon this point Petit ut sup. [The Author has since referred the first part of this passage from Pollux to the *ἀντιγραφῆς* or checking-clerks, and adopted the statement of the grammarians (Lex. Seg. p. 276. 17. Etym. Mag. p. 569. 31.) that the Logistæ were appointed by lot, *Rheinisches Museum* p. 82. It is however singular that the author, as well as his antagonist, should have missed one of the most explicit passages on the subject, viz. in a grammarian published by Mr. Dobree at the end of Photius p. 672. *Λογισταί· καὶ συνηγόροι· Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ οὕτω λέγει· λογισταὶ δὲ αἱροῦνται δέκα, παρ' οἷς διαλογίζονται πᾶσαι αἱ ἀρχαὶ τά τε λήμματα καὶ τὰς γεγενημένας δαπάνας· καὶ ἄλλοις (ἄλλοι) δέκα συνηγόροις (συνήγοροι), οἵτινες συνανακρίνουσι τούτοις. καὶ οἱ τὰς εὐθύνας διδόντες παρὰ τούτοις ἀνακρίνοντες πρῶτον, εἶτα ἐφίενται εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον εἰς ἕνα καὶ Φ'.* This passage seems to shew that the Logistæ were *not* chosen by lot (*αἱροῦνται*, not *κληροῦνται*), and it is also a strong negative proof of the identity of the Logistæ and Euthuni. The *συνήγοροι* are mentioned in another grammarian quoted by the author in note 186. *συνήγοροι ἄρχοντες ἦσαν κληρωτοί, οἳ τοῖς λογισταῖς ἐβοήθουν πρὸς τὰς εὐθύνας τῶν ἀρξάντων τινὰ ἀρχήν.* Here however it is stated that the *συνήγοροι were* chosen by lot: perhaps in the former passage we should read *κληροῦνται* for *αἱροῦνται*. These *συνήγοροι* therefore seem to have been quite distinct from the public advocates (although the contrary appears also to be maintained by Schömann, as quoted in the *Attische Process p.* 102., de Comitiis

can even in general be arrived at only by conjecture. The Logistæ were the chief persons, and to them the accounts were delivered, into the correctness of which they examined; they also, as the calculators of the State, superintended the payment of the public debts [180]. But while the accounts were being examined (λογισμὸς or λόγος), or even afterwards, if an accuser came forward (who was however obliged to appear within a certain time [181], i. e. within thirty days after the expiration of the office), questions were put and answers required concerning the correctness of the statements (εὔθυνα), a point which it would be difficult and tedious to explain: now it is for this, that the Euthuni appear to have been appointed as assistants to the Logistæ, as may be inferred from their name. The Euthuni or their assessors might decide that the account was unsatisfactory, that money had been embezzled, bribes received, &c. when such was the case, the affair was brought before a court of justice, in the same manner as when a public accuser came forward [182]. The proceedings which

p. 108. a book which I am unable to refer to); they were probably the same as the πάρεδροι mentioned by Andocides and others. The public advocates are stated by Photius (in v. συνήγοροι) to have been nominated by election (χειροτονία). In the passage also from the Politics quoted in note 172. Aristotle mentions λογισταὶ, εὔθυνοι, and συνήγοροι as synonymous terms.]

[180] Inscript. 76. §. 4. λόγος and λογισμὸς is the account, the εὔθυνη or defence of the account was commonly connected with it, as e. g. in Inscript. 76. §. 8. Æschin. in. Ctesiph. p. 397, 403. &c.

[181] Pollux VIII. 45.

[182] In the Archonship of Alexias in Olymp. 93. 4. by the decree of Patrocleides, the public debtors were remitted their debts up to the end of the preceding year (Olymp. 93. 3. in the

belonged to this stage (which are even here called

Archonship of Callias), and those who had been condemned to Atimia for non-payment were restored to their civil rights. By this law, pardon was at the same time extended to those ὅσων εὔθυναί τινές εἰσι κατεγνωσμέναι ἐν τοῖς λογιστηρίοις ὑπὸ τῶν εὐθύνων ἢ τῶν παρέδρων, ἢ μήπω εἰσηγμέναι εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον γραφαί τινές εἰσι περὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν, with the addition of the date εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον. For the explanation of this passage I subjoin the following remarks. It was not only the public debts and Atimia that were remitted, to which the debtors had become subject by a punishment which had been previously adjudged, but it was also enacted that the actions against public officers which were at that time instituted on account of incorrect accounts, should be disannulled, i. e. that the causes which had not been yet decided, but were still depending, should be quashed. These however were of two kinds. In the first place the Euthuni or their assessors in the examination of the accounts had decided that certain public officers were guilty, and had determined to institute proceedings against them (εὔθυναι κατεγνωσμέναι ἐν τοῖς λογιστηρίοις), although by these means, as a court of justice could alone pass sentence, no punishment had as yet been assigned; or an accuser had brought forward complaints with regard to the accounts of the public servants, who were undergoing the scrutiny, but the accusations were still in the hands of the presidents of the courts of justice and not yet brought before the court itself (γραφαὶ περὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν μήπω εἰσηγμέναι εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον): both kinds of cases were to be put an end to. Among the first class of cases those also were included which had not yet been brought before the court of justice, which as being self-evident are therefore not mentioned; but the former class is particularly noticed, because the accused who were comprised in it previously laboured under the prejudice of an office, and appeared to be more injured than the others. It may be also asked why those persons are not mentioned whose causes subsequent upon the decision of the Euthuni had been brought before the court previously to the end of the preceding year, but had not been decided. No cases however of this kind could have

εὔθυναι) [183], were instituted by the chief authority, the Logistæ; who conducted the actions, and composed the tribunal which gave judgment in the case [184]. In bringing on the action it is possible that the Euthuni again assisted the chief authority: and perhaps too, as Pollux asserts, they enforced the payment of embezzled monies and fines, instead of the Practores. Photius [185] alone states that each Euthunus had two assessors, but he is supported by the words of Andocides. Lastly, the public advocates (συνήγοροι) afforded assistance to the Logistæ [186]. Any person who neglected to render his account could be prosecuted by a particular action (δίκη ἀλογίου) [187].

existed, because when the cause had been once brought before the court the decision immediately ensued, without the defendant being able to delay it by objections or cross suits.

[183] Pollux ut sup.

[184] Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 395 sqq. and 408. Suidas in v. εὐθύνη, Lex. Rhet. (Seg. p. 245. also Lex. Seg. p. 310. 6.) Etym. and Phot. in the passages quoted by Ruhnken ad Tim. p. 126. See Petit ut sup.

[185] Εὔθυνος· ἀρχὴ ἦν τις. ἐξ ἑκάστης δὲ φυλῆς ἵνα κληροῦσι, τούτῳ δὲ δύο παρέδρους: in which passage the εὔθυνοι are falsely represented as chosen by lot, which is only true of the Logistæ. Hesychius in v. εὐθύνας only speaks incidentally of the assessors of the Archons, the word εὐθύνας occurring in a passage of Aristotle concerning the latter officers: no one should therefore be led into error by this article.

[186] Lex. Seg. p. 301.

[187] Suidas, Hesychius, Etymol. in v. ἀλογίου δίκη, Poll. VIII. 54. To approve the accounts is called τὰς εὐθύνας ἐπισημαίνεσθαι. Demosth. pro Corona p. 310. 21. Ἐπισημαίνεσθαι means to approve, ἐπαινεῖν (cf. Æsch. περὶ παραπρεσβ. p. 230. Harpocrat. in v. ἐπισημαίνεσθαι, and thence Suidas and Zonaras p. 848. cf. p. 830. and

From what has been said it is evident that there was no want at Athens of well-conceived and strict regulations; but what is the use of provident measures, where the spirit of the administration is bad? Men have at all times been unjust and covetous and unprincipled, and above all the Greeks distinguished themselves for the uncontrolled gratification of their own desires, and their contempt for the happiness of others. If any competent judge of moral actions will contemplate their character without prejudice, and unbiassed by their high intellectual endowments, he will find that their private life was unsocial, and devoid of virtue; that their public conduct was guided by the lowest passions and preferences; and, what was the worst of all, that there existed a hardness and cruelty in the popular mind, and a want of moral principle to a far greater degree than in the Christian world. The display of noble actions, it is true, has ceased, and will never re-appear with the same brilliancy; but the principles of the majority of mankind have been elevated, even if we allow that some distinguished individuals in ancient times were as pure as the most exalted characters of modern days; and in this general elevation consists the progress of mankind. When we consider then the principles of the Greeks, which are sufficiently seen from their historians and philosophers, it cannot be a matter of surprise that fraud was used by public officers at

the editor's note) because that which is signed and sealed is approved of by him to whom the decision belongs: however it may be possible that after the accounts had been found to be correct by the proper authorities, the testimony of their correctness was added in writing and confirmed by a seal, so that ἐπισημαίνεσθαι τὰς εὐθύνας may signify the approval of them which was vouched by being sealed in this manner.

Athens in so great a matter as the regulation of the days: in the early times of the Republic Aristides accused his contemporary Themistocles of this deceit; it was even the common opinion that there existed a certain prescriptive right to the commission of this fraud, and a person who had scruples on the subject was censured for his too great strictness[188]. Every where we meet with instances of robberies and embezzlement of money by public officers; even the sacred property was not secure from sacrilegious hands. The Romans had at least a period in which fidelity and honesty were practised and esteemed: but among the Greeks these qualities will be sought for in vain. All officers of finance were bound by a solemn oath to administer without peculation the money entrusted to their care; "but if in Greece," says the faithful Polybius[189], "the State entrusted to any one only a talent, and if it had ten checking-clerks, and as many seals and twice as many witnesses, it could not ensure his honesty." The officers of finance were therefore not unfrequently condemned to death or to loss of property and imprisonment; sometimes indeed unjustly, when money had accidentally been lost[190]; but the Logistæ allowed themselves to be disgracefully bribed in order to enable the offender to evade the legal penalty[191]. Even the great Pericles does not appear to have been free from the charge of peculation, if at least the story is true which represents Alcibiades to have said, on hearing that Pericles was occupied in preparing his accounts for the people, that he would be better occupied in endeavouring

[188] Plutarch. Aristid. 4.

[189] VI. 56.

[190] Comp. e. g. Demosth. in Timoth. p. 1187, 1197. in Timocrat. p. 742 sqq.

[191] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 126.

to render none at all [192]. The comic poets, who undermined the fame of every distinguished person, have also brought against him charges which are doubtless exaggerated; for example Aristophanes in the comedy of the Clouds misunderstands and ridicules an item in the account of Pericles which he had rendered in his capacity of general, although in this instance he was free from all blame. The truth is that he had charged ten talents, without specifying the particular object to which they had been applied; but the charge was allowed by the people, as it was well known that they had been used for purposes of bribery, and that the names of those who had received them could not be mentioned without offending Pleistonax the king of Sparta, and the Harmost Cleandrides [193]. There is however a very general tradition that Pericles was in great difficulties with his accounts. Before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, Phidias the sculptor was subjected, by means as, it appears, of a conspiracy, to an examination respecting some gold which he was accused of having embezzled [194]; on that occasion Pericles extricated himself and Phidias from the difficulty. But other attacks were made upon him for the purposes of annoyance; and at last when the Athenians were dissatisfied

[192] Plutarch. Alcib. 7. Diod. XII. 38.

[193] Aristoph. Nub. 858. and the Scholiast, and thence Suidas in v. Θέον, Ἔφοροι, εἰς Θέον, εἰς τὸ Θέον, Lex. Seg. p. 234. The Scholiast of Aristophanes says twenty, Suidas in one place fifteen, in another fifty talents: I have followed the statement of Plutarch (Pericl. 22, 23.) which has greater probability.

[194] Plutarch. Pericl. 31. This cause instituted against Pericles is alluded to by Plato Gorg. p. 516. A. where see Heindorf: the Scholiast of Aristophanes and Suidas confuse this with other things.

with his lavish expenditure [195], they required an account of his financial administration. The importance of this transaction is evident from the proceedings which were proposed for it: the account was to have been referred to the Prytanes; and according to the decree of Dracontides, the judges were to vote from the altar upon the Acropolis, which was the most solemn method of deciding. This last ceremony was dispensed with by the interference of Hagnon, and it was directed that five hundred judges should sit in judgment upon this case, in which it was uncertain whether there had been peculation or some other offence [196]. In order to put an end to this contest, in which he was in danger of falling a sacrifice both to party rage and individual perfidy, Pericles is said to have engaged his country in a war [197]; a severe accusation, which however will be in some degree diminished, if it is considered that several causes contributed, and that this selfish motive might only have added strength to other inducements. I am the less inclined wholly to acquit Pericles of this charge, because Aspasia is also said to have contributed to the undertaking of the Samian war.

In order that the accounts rendered by persons who had filled public offices should have the greatest possible publicity, and that it should be in the power of every one to bring forward accusations, these accounts were, like the

[195] Plutarch. Pericl. 14.

[196] Plutarch. ibid. 32.

[197] Plut. ibid. 31, 32. Diod. XII. 38 sqq. Aristoph. Pac. 604 sqq. and Schol. Concerning the difficulties in arranging the date see Dodwell Annal. Thucyd. in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, and Heyne (Antiquarische Aufsätze. I. p. 188 sq.) who has well examined the question. Concerning the Samian war see Plutarch. Pericl. 25.

decrees, engraved on stone and exposed in public. Thus Lycurgus set up the account for his administration before the wrestling-school which he had built a short time previously [198]; a fragment of a similar account of the treasurer of the administration and manager of the public revenue, and probably of this very one made by Lycurgus, has been preserved to our days [a]. In like manner the treasurers of the goddess and of the other gods were obliged to have an account of what they had received, disbursed, and delivered to their successors, engraved upon stone and set up in the Acropolis [199]: Chandler has published three inscriptions of this kind, and saw still more in the Parthenon [200], and some have been brought to England by

[198] Life of Lycurgus at the end, in the Lives of the Ten Orators.

[a] See Boeckh. Corp. Insc. I. p. 250. No. 157.

[199] Inscript. 76. §. 7, 8.

[200] Chandl. Syllab. p. 17. of his Inscript. Antiq. besides those which I have published. The inedited inscriptions occur in Lord Elgin's collection, as stated by Visconti in his Memoire. No. 36. upon two sides of a stone, upon one side of which there are forty, on the other more than fifty lines, of the writing before Euclid. The authorities are the treasurers of sacred money (ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων), the articles enumerated partly weighed, partly unweighed (ἀστάθμοι). The first line contains the words ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς Παναθήναια: which is to be explained from what is said in the text. No. 37. also a fragment, written in the ancient manner, upon both sides of the stone, each of which contains more than forty lines. The first side begins with ἐδίδοσαν τὸν λόγον, the other with H H H H Δ Δ. This inscription is evidently allied to Nos. 109 and 141 ed. Boeckh. No. 38. another fragment of the same description in the ancient manner of writing, written in the same way. No. 46. a fragment of the same kind as the two inscriptions just mentioned, but very imperfect: there are forty-five

Lord Elgin. Several documents of this description, some money-accounts, some lists of treasures belonging to temples, delivered over to other treasurers, which were accurately weighed, have come down to our days; among which may be mentioned the remarkable account given by the Amphictyons of Delos, of their revenues, expences, and outstanding debts. Lastly, we know that the Poletæ also fixed up lists of confiscated property (δημιόπρατα), (whether before or after the sale is uncertain), upon tablets of stone, some in the Acropolis, some at Eleusis[201], and doubtless also in other places; and probably a fragment of an inscription now extant was a part of a document of this nature[b]. Monuments of this kind are necessarily destroyed by length of time; but it is much to be lamented that we should not be possessed of those which had been collected by Greek antiquarians. The Attic Epigrams of Philochorus were probably only poetical inscriptions; but the traveller Polemon, who from his fondness for inscriptions had acquired the surname of Stelocopas (στηλοκόπας), wrote four books on the sacred offerings upon the Acropolis[202], as well as copiously upon other inscriptions, and collected decrees[203] engraved upon

lines remaining. No. 50 a later inscription which contains a catalogue of treasures belonging to a temple, of large size. Concerning these inscriptions see also *the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece*, p. 17, 18.

[201] Casaub. ad Athen. XI. p. 476. E. Hemsterh. ad Poll. X. 96.

[b] Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. I. p. 286. No. 161.

[202] Athen. VI. 234. D. and Casaubon's note.

[203] An example occurs in Athen. VI. p. 234. E. From him also the inscription in the Anaceum (p. 235. B.) is no doubt taken.

stone, particularly at Athens; a collection of decrees, most of them doubtless taken from inscriptions, was given to the world by Craterus[204]. Another collection of the registers of the Demioprata was likewise extant, and is frequently quoted by Pollux in the tenth book[205], and once by Athenæus; from this source the former writer drew his information respecting the confiscated property of Alcibiades[206]; and in this collection of the Demioprata there were also accounts of the treasurers of the Acropolis concerning the cession of the sacred treasures, probably from the work of Polemon; among others one which by chance has come down to our time and is now in England[207]. Probably the list of the sacred offerings upon the Acropolis quoted by Pollux[208], was set up during the Archonship

[204] Plutarch. Cim. 13. From some such collection the decrees which occur in the Lives of the Ten Orators are borrowed.

[205] Vid. ad Inscript. 161.

[206] Pollux X. 36.

[207] Vid. ad Inscript. XIII. I. 38.

[208] Ἀναγραφὴ τῶν ἐν Ἀκροπόλει ἀναθημάτων, X. 26. The quotations that are made from this catalogue occur in two inscriptions still extant. vid. ad Inscript. XII. §. 25. There is no mention of any Archon Alcibiades. Pollux probably confounded the first treasurer of the goddess or of the gods, whose name stood at the head of the inscription, with the Archon. If Alcibiades had not been a treasurer upon the Acropolis, how could it have come to pass that he, as Plutarch relates in the life of Alcibiades, had in his house many gold and silver ornaments for processions belonging to the State, which he used as his own property? If he held the office of treasurer upon the Acropolis he would have had the means of doing this. The account given by Andocides (in Alcib. p. 126, 127.) is different from this story of Plutarch taken from Phæax, where he speaks of ornaments for processions, which Alcibiades had borrowed from the Architheori of Athens for the sake of his triumphal festival. This has been also

of Alcibiades, that is, a memorial of the treasurers' accounts, of whom he was the first, borrowed from these Demioprata.

(9.) But however essential the settlement of accounts may be to a regular administration of finance, it is not of itself sufficient. The first requisite is a correct estimate of the revenue and expenditure, in order that the former may be sufficient to meet the latter. It can hardly be said that this was regularly performed in any Grecian State; at the same time they must have been able from experience and a comparison of the public accounts to form a tolerable judgment as to the amount of the regular income and expenditure, and how far the former was or was not sufficient, and the latter necessary or superfluous. Aristotle says[209], "Whoever wishes to deliberate upon matters of finance must be acquainted with the revenues of the State, what and how great they are; in order that if any branch of them is deficient, it may be added, and if too small, it may be increased. He should also know all the expences of the State, in order that if any one is superfluous, it may be retrenched, and if too large, be curtailed. For wealth is augmented not only by increasing revenue, but by diminishing expenditure: and these things a man cannot learn from his own individual experience; but it is also necessary in order to deliberate upon subjects of this nature that he should have the habit of inquiring into the discoveries of others." Here the questions are clearly laid down which a minister at the head of the public revenue should undertake to consider; it may however be

observed by Ruhnken Hist. Crit. Orat. p. 138. vol. VIII. of Reiske's Orators.

[209] Rhet. I. 4. cf. Xenoph. Mem. Socrat. III. 6. 4—6.

fairly questioned whether the Athenians always went correctly to work in the difficult application of these simple principles. The necessity, and afterwards the habits or convenience of the people, introduced certain expences; the time soon came when the revenues were not sufficient to defray them, and then the former were to be diminished or the latter increased; of these alternatives it must be supposed that they generally took the latter, and this without previously making any correct estimate. This was the case to a greater degree in their extraordinary expences, and after the public treasure had been exhausted, all the great enterprizes were checked by a want of supplies. With regard to the Athenian Revenue we have its amount at different periods of the republic; but of that of the Expenditure we know but little, except that it varied very much at different times. I shall treat of the latter first; but as it is a subject connected with many parts of ancient history, it will for that reason impossible for me to give so complete and satisfactory an account of it as of the revenue, and I must be content with touching upon the chief points. The regular expenditure may be arranged under the following heads: expences of buildings, police, celebration of festivals, donations to the people, pay for certain public services in time of peace, maintenance of the poor, public rewards, and the providing of arms, ships, and cavalry in time of peace. Extraordinary expences were occasioned by war, of which I will speak at the end of this book.

(10.) The public buildings, the magnificence and splendid execution of which still excite astonishment even in their ruins, were constructed at so great an expence, that they could not have been attempted without the treasure derived from the tributes: their maintenance alone re-

quired a considerable standing expence. I will only mention the building of the Piræeus by Themistocles, the fortification of it together with the other harbours, the market-place of the Hippodamus, the theatre and the many temples and sacred edifices, in the Piræeus: the docks, in which the ships lay as it were under cover, cost 1000 talents, and after having been destroyed in the Anarchy by the contractors for three talents, were again restored and finally completed by Lycurgus[210]. A splendid edifice in the Piræeus was the Arsenal built by Philon and destroyed by Sulla (σκευοθήκη, ὁπλοθήκη)[211]. The fortifications of Athens were enormous; besides the Acropolis, the city and the Piræeus with Munychia were respectively fortified: the two latter embraced a circumference of eight English miles, with walls sixty Grecian feet high, which Pericles wished to make as much as double this height; and at the same time so wide that two carriages could ly pass one another upon them; they were built of quare stones without cement, joined together with iron cramps; the city and the harbour were also connected by the long walls, the longer of which was equal to forty stadia (five English miles), the shorter to thirty-five; built upon marshy ground raised with stones. And these immense works were restored after their destruction in the time of the thirty tyrants: for which purpose the Athenians were, it is true, assisted by a donation of money from Persia[212]. To these were added in time of war, ramparts of earth, trenches and parapets for the ngthening of the works: together with the fortification of smaller places

210 Isocrat. Areopag. 27. Meurs. Fort. Att. VII.

211 Meurs. ibid.

212 Xenoph. Hellen. IV. 8. 12.

in Attica. Thus Eleusis was fortified as being an ancient, and formerly an independent city; also Anaphlystus, as we learn from Xenophon[213] and Scylax; so again Sunium was fortified in the Peloponnesian war[214], as well as Thoricus[215] and Œnoë a stronghold upon the Bœotian frontier[216]; together with the secure defences of Phyle[217]; lastly Aphidna and Rhamnus, which in the time of Philip, together with Phyle, Sunium, and Eleusis, were used as places of refuge[218]. But how great was the number of splendid buildings which the city and its environs contained; if we consider the spaces used for the assembly, the courts of justice, and markets, the highly ornamented porticos, the Pompeum, Prytaneum, Tholus, Senate-house, and other buildings for the public offices; the innumerable temples, the Theatre, the Odeum, wrestling-schools, Gymnasia, Stadia, Hippodromes, aqueducts, fountains, baths, together with the buildings belonging to them, &c.[219]. And again how great must have been the expence of the works upon the Acropolis. The entrance alone, the Propylæa, which occupied five years in its construction, cost 2012 talents[220]. Here too the numerous temples, the Temple of Victory, the Erectheum, with the Temple of Minerva Polias and the Pandrosium, and the splendid Parthenon, all these were

[213] De Vectig. 4. 44. Scylax mentions four fortresses, Eleusis, Anaphlystus, Sunium, and Rhamnus.

[214] Thucyd. VIII. 4.

[215] Xenoph. Hell. I. 2. 1. Cf. de Vectig. ut sup.

[216] Thucyd. II. 18.

[217] Xenoph. Hell. II. 4. 2. Diod. XIV. 32. Nep. Thrasyb. 2.

[218] Demosth. de Coron. p. 238.

[219] Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. 2. 10.

[220] Heliodorus ap. Harpocrat. and Suidas in v. προπύλαια, cf. Phot. where read βιβ' from the Dresden manuscript.

adorned with the most costly statues and works of art, and enriched with gold and silver vessels. And besides these great works, how many were the perpetual small expences, of which *we* have scarcely any notion, that occurred in an ancient State: for example, the building of altars, which were always erected for certain festivals[221]. Here we may also mention the construction of roads, not only as regards the paving of streets in Athens, but the formation of the roads to the harbours, of the sacred road to Eleusis and perhaps to Delphi as far as the boundary, since it is asserted that the Athenians first opened the road to this place. I grant that the Romans and Carthaginians expended more money upon the construction of roads than the Greeks; but roads were formed which were much travelled over, and intended in particular for sacred processions; these were not merely constructed with an uneven pavement, but were made firm and smooth with small stones taken out of the quarries[222]. For the superintendence of all these labours there were some regular officers, and some only appointed for certain periods. Over the docks and the ships that lay in them, the inspectors of the docks (ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων) were placed[223]; for the repairs of the

[221] Plutarch. in vit. Demosth. 27.

[222] Σκῦρος as well as λατύπη is what breaks off in the hewing of stone, and sometimes even signifies mortar. From this is derived σκυρωτὴ ὁδός, of which kind there was one at Cyrene for processions (Pindar Pyth. V. 90 sqq.), consequently it is not a paved road, but made in the same manner as ours, only with great care. Σκυρωτὴ ὁδὸς is however interpreted by λιθόστρωτος, and therefore it seems to me probable that this word does not always mean a paved road, but one formed with stones.

[223] Sigon. R. A. IV. 3. where he also speaks of the builders of the walls.

walls certain commissioners (τειχοποιοὶ) were named, the most distinguished amongst all the directors of the public works (ἐπιστατὰι τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων)[224], who, like the builders of the Triremes, were elected one from each tribe[225]. Over other buildings a manager of public works had the superintendence: it was in this capacity that Pericles, and subsequently Lycurgus, undertook so many works of architecture[226]. In the building of the temple of Minerva Polias, we likewise find directors (ἐπιστατὰι), who had a clerk[227], and probably every temple always had directors of this kind, who together with the priests and sacrificers (ἱεροποιοὶ) composed a college or board[228]. Similar authorities were appointed for the care of the roads and of the supply of water (ὁδοποιοὶ, ἐπιστατὰι τῶν ὑδάτων)[229]. The Astynomi composed the street police, five in the city and as many in the Piræeus: among other duties they had to attend to the cleansing of the streets, and had on that account the superintendence of the scavengers (κοπρολόγοι)[230]. All

[224] Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 400. Poll. VIII. 114. falsely includes them among the ὑπηρέται, as well as the sacrificers (ἱεροποιοὶ) and Boönæ.

[225] Æschin. ut sup. p. 422, 425.

[226] Plutarch Pericl. (cf. Diod. XII. 39.) and the Life of Lycurgus in the Lives of the Ten Orators.

[227] Chandler Inscript. II. 1.

[228] At least so the passage in Inscript. 76. §. 7. may be interpreted.

[229] Sigon. ut sup. p. 176. vol. I. of his works. Petit. Leg. Att. V. 1. 3. Concerning the ὁδοποιοὶ see more particularly Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 419. and the comic poet ap. Plutarch. Præc. Polit. 15. The κρηνοφύλακες mentioned by Sigonius probably were not public officers (see the note of the editor upon the passage quoted).

[230] Aristot. ap. Harpocrat. in v. ἀστυνόμοι.

works of building undertaken by the Public were by the proper authorities let to Contractors (ἐργόλαβοι), as was the case at Rome; this is particularly mentioned of the repairs of the Temples and public Buildings[231]. and an enquiry was made from time to time, probably at the change of office, how far the building had proceeded, and what was still remaining to be done. An inscription in which the unfinished parts of the building of the temple of Minerva Polias in the Archonship of Diocles (Olymp. 92. 4.) are recited, has been preserved to our days[232].

The amount of money expended upon works of building was necessarily quite undefined, aud must obviously have depended upon the quantity of disposable revenue and the necessity of the projected work. Demosthenes received nearly ten talents for the repairs of the walls[233]; but it is uncertain whether, as he was appointed only for the tribe Pandionis, he received all the money, or whether it was divided between him and his nine colleagues, which last supposition is rendered more probable from the circumstance of several Treasurers being mentioned: that the expences of building were defrayed by the State and not by the Tribes, as might appear from another passage of Æschines, is sufficiently manifest from the fact that the money was furnished by the Administration. Probably the commissioner of each tribe had a particular part of the walls to repair, and Demosthenes received the sum just mentioned for the expence of his share; this being insufficient, he added, according to the testimony of a con-

[231] Petit. Leg. Att. I. 2. 7.

[232] Chandler as above. Edited more correctly by Wilkins.

[233] Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 415. cf. p. 425.

temporary decree, and of another which was made subsequently, three talents of his own money, in addition to which he caused two trenches to be drawn round the Piræeus at his own expence[234]. Conon, the son of Timotheus, was obliged to repair a part of the walls at a cost of ten talents. In general the surplus of the revenue only was applied to building, unless necessity compelled the infraction of this rule: thus in an ancient decree it is ordered that whatever should remain over and above the money assigned for the payment of the public debts should be applied to the repairs of the Docks and Walls[235]. In the time of Pericles this overplus was extraordinarily great on account of the large sums produced by the tributes, and out of this fund the public treasure was formed; thus he was able, as Plutarch[236] says, to build temples which cost even 1000 talents, and in fact he used 3700 talents out of the treasury for works of Architecture and for the Potidæan War[237], besides what he may have added from the current revenue. Before his time, not only Pisistratus but Themistocles and Cimon had spent much money in building; after these Conon deserves to be mentioned, as the restorer of the walls, and Lycurgus, who completed the

[234] Decret. ap. Demosth. de Cor. p. 266. and decrees in the Lives of the Ten Orators. In Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 405. only a hundred minas are mentioned, but evidently from a confusion with the sum which he contributed as manager of the Theorica (de Coron. p. 266.) he is followed by the author of the Lives of the Ten Orators (p. 263. ed. Tübing.). Concerning Conon see Nepos Timoth. 4.

[235] Inscript. 76. §. 9.

[236] Pericl. 12.

[237] Thuc. II. 13.

many works that had been left unfinished; the Docks, the Arsenal, and the theatre of Bacchus: it was he who laid the foundation of the Panathenaic Stadium, the Gymnasium, Odeum, and Lyceum, embellished the city with several other works, and moreover furnished many decorations for processions, and for the temple of Minerva golden statues of victory, and gold and silver ornaments for 100 Canephoræ[238]. But upon the whole the public buildings of this age were inconsiderable when compared with those of earlier times, while the splendour of private buildings had increased. "In ancient days," says Demosthenes[239], "every thing that belonged to the State was costly and splendid, and no individual distinguished himself from the multitude; and the proof of it is, that if any of you know the houses of Themistocles and Miltiades, and the famous men of that time, he will see that they are not more magnificent than those of other people; but the buildings and constructions of the State were of such size and number, that it is not in the power of succeeding generations to surpass them—the Propylæa, the Docks, the Porticoes, the Piræeus, and the other works with which you see the city adorned! But now all who are concerned in the management of public affairs have such a superfluity of riches, that some have built private houses more magnificent than many public edifices; and some of them have purchased more land than all of you who are sitting in the court are together possessed of; but your public

[238] See the passages in Meursius Fort. Att. p. 58. of the 4to edition, where nothing is omitted but the original source, viz. the third decree in the Lives of the Ten Orators.

[239] In Aristoc. p. 689. 11—24. Olynth. III. p. 35, 36. which two passages I have combined. See the spurious speech περὶ συντάξεως from p. 174. 17. to p. 175. 12.

buildings and works, it is disgraceful to tell how scanty and contemptible they are. What indeed can be said of your works? what of the parapets which we throw up? of the roads which we construct, and the fountains, and the trifles at which we labour?" Thus speaks the ardent enthusiast for the happiness and fame of his country; his speeches of admonition might with a few alterations be adapted to the present age, in which such vast sums have been squandered away without producing any thing useful or durable.

(11.) It is evident that the police could not possess that distinct and important character among the Greeks, which it has in the States of modern Europe, as from their republican government, judicial decisions were always preferred to the operations of police. It is indeed wholly impossible for such an institution as a secret police to exist as a separate establishment in a democracy: but a strict and vigilant inspection was produced by the privilege which the citizens possessed of coming forward as accusers in all things which affected the public interest, though this right was not exercised without cunning, envy, and calumny. There existed a system of watching and espionage, which in its consequences was not less pernicious than the worst institutions of modern despots; although it had the double advantage over these, that no person could be condemned without a public trial, and that it cost the State nothing. The only kind of Police which existed as a distinct institution in ancient times, was that to which was entrusted the performance of certain needful services, such as the street-police, which was in the charge of the Astynomi, together with that of the market, and traders: which latter did not cause any expence: and finally, some institution must have been indispensable as well in respect to the aliens, as to the maintenance of order and security

in the city, particularly in the public assembly. In all the Grecian States, notwithstanding their hospitality, foreigners were considered as enemies, and for that reason they were at Athens under the jurisdiction of the Archon Polemarchus, as at Rome under that of the Prætor Peregrinus: it is not improbable that the foreign police as well as some establishment for granting passports was under his direction, of which a slight indication occurs in a passage of Aristophanes[240]. For the maintenance of security and order there was a city-guard composed of public slaves (δημόσιοι)[241]: these persons, although they were of low rank, enjoyed a certain consideration, as the State employed them in the capacity of bailiffs. These public slaves were sometimes also appointed for the trade-police[242]; and subordinate places, such as heralds and checking-clerks, together with other offices in the assembly and courts of justice, were filled by persons of the same description. The public slaves who composed the city-guard must be looked upon as a body-guard of the Athenian people; which thus resembled Polycrates the tyrant of Samos, who kept a thousand bowmen about his own person[243]. They are generally called bowmen (τοξόται), or, from the native country of the majority, Scythians, also Speusinians; they lived under tents in the market-place, and afterwards upon the Areopagus[244].

[240] Av. 1209. and Schol. ad 1214. The name is σφραγίς, σύμβολον.

[241] Concerning these see Harpocrat. Suid. Etym. Poll. IX. 10. and Hemsterhuis' note, also Maussac ad Harpocrat. in v. δημόσιος Lex. Seg. p. 234.

[242] Inscript. 123. §. 5 sqq.

[243] Herod. III. 39, 45.

[244] Poll. VIII. 132. and his commentators, Aristoph. Lysistrat.

Among their number there were also many Thracians and other Barbarians. Their officers had the name of Toxarchs (τόξαρχοι)[245]. Their number increased progressively: in the first instance 300 were purchased soon after the battle of Salamis[246]: subsequently it rose, according to the Scholiast to the Acharnenses of Aristophanes and Suidas, to a thousand, according to Andocides and Æschines, to 1200[247]. It is evident that these troops

437. Acharn. 54. Schneider ad Xenoph. Mem. Socrat. III. 6. Lex. Seg. p. 234. Photius in v. τοξόται.

[245] Inscript. 80.

[246] Æsch. περὶ παραπρεσβ. p. 335.

[247] Æschin. ut sup. p. 336. χιλίους δὲ καὶ διακοσίους ἱππέας κατεστήσαμεν καὶ τοξότας ἑτέρους τοσούτους. Hieronymus Wolf asks whether 300 or 600 are meant, as he makes ἑτέρους τοσούτους refer to the 300 mentioned in p. 335. which were first bought: it is clear to me that ἕτεροι τοσοῦτοι used in this manner can only refer to the number which immediately precedes, and therefore in this place only to χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους, and that here the whole number of the bowmen is meant, including those that were first bought, most of whom might besides have died and their vacancies filled up. It is undeniably true as Hier. Wolf observes, and as Viger has said after him, that *once as many* is often said, when the preceding number is reckoned, and the same number is added. But unquestionably, taken in its original and strict sense, it means *just as many*, as ἕτερος τοιοῦτος *another person of the same kind*, as in Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 448. ἐκ Πελοποννήσου μὲν πλείονας ἢ δισχιλίους ὁπλίτας, ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας δὲ ἑτέρους τοσούτους. That this is the force of it in the present passage is shewn more particularly by Andocides de Pace p. 93. χιλίους τε καὶ διακοσίους ἱππέας, καὶ τοξότας τοσούτους ἑτέρους κατεστήσαμεν, where the preceding number fixes the meaning of τοσούτους. This also agrees the best with Suidas and the Scholiast. There were 1200 horsemen at Athens, but Xenophon only speaks of 1000. The same account is given by Suidas and the Scholiast in reference to Æschines.

might, if necessary, be used in the field; although the Athenians had also free aliens, of whom I shall presently speak. The expence which this regiment occasioned may be nearly ascertained. As it was necessary for them to be strong, able-bodied men, upon whom dependence could be placed, the purchase-money cannot be fixed at less than three or four minas apiece: and as the whole number would have required renewal about every thirty or forty years, exclusively of any increased number of casualties which might have been produced by war, thirty at least must have been purchased annually, which would have caused an expence of from one and half to two talents. Their pay doubtless amounted to three oboli a day[248], making altogether about 36 talents a year.

(12.) The celebration of festivals produced in the early times of the Athenian republic, a profuseness of expenditure in no way inferior to that of the courts of luxurious princes: this republican system however possessed several advantages over the latter method of useless expenditure. For in the first place, all the citizens partook in these solemnities, and not a select few; in the second place they were founded upon the duties of religion; and again, the public games or contests, which had a powerful influence in forming the national mind, awakened and improved the taste and spirit of the people. To expend large sums

The only thing that can be remarkable is the word ἱππέους, since bowmen were not cavalry; this however is evidently according to the same idiom, by which Xenophon says, τοὺς ὁπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας. Moreover the rest of the narration shews that the author is not speaking here of bowmen in general but of the slaves, since the first three hundred are distinctly said to have been bought.

[248] From the traces in Inscript. 80.

of money on the fine arts, which appeared in the highest perfection at the sacred festivals, upon costly but lasting ornaments for the temples, upon choruses and musical entertainments, and upon a theatre, which was so perfect that it excelled equally in tragedy and comedy, were considered as acts of a liberal and noble mind. And while the Athenians were led by their religious obligations to these costly practices, the Spartans were satisfied to manifest their piety by offering small sacrifices to the gods. That the person who provides the sacrificial feast should receive a share of the offering, appears both natural and reasonable; but when the principal revenues of the State were wasted upon public banquets, and the sacrifices were maintained at the public expence not so much for the purposes of religion, as for the support of the poor[249], the policy of the Athenians was alike unjust and inexpedient, inasmuch as the continuance of it without oppressing the allies was impossible, and the State, being deprived of the means of self-defence in a most frivolous and unpardonable manner, was led on to certain destruction. The Athenians not only had twice as many festivals as other Grecian States[250], but every thing was considered secondary to them. "The Panathenæa, the Dionysia," says Demosthenes[251], "are always celebrated at the proper time, festivals on which you expend more money than on any naval enterprize, and for which you make such preparations as were never heard of elsewhere; but when you send out a fleet it always arrives too late." Even Plutarch, by nature of an admiring and laudatory turn of mind,

[249] Cf. Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. 2. 9.
[250] Xenoph. ibid. 3. 8.
[251] Philipp. 1. p. 50. 3.

who with his beautiful style and amiable disposition has misled the understandings of many readers by engaging their feelings, in his Essay upon the Glory of Athens[252], perceives this weak point. For after having enumerated the various splendour of the tragedies, he thus proceeds. "Gazing upon this the Lacedæmonian justly remarked that the Athenians erred greatly in making serious matter of trifles, that is, in expending upon the theatre sums sufficient for the equipment of large fleets, and for the maintenance of great armies. For if it were calculated what sum each play cost the Athenians, it would be found that they had spent more treasure upon Bacchæs, and Phœnissæs, and Œdipusses, and Antigones, and the woes of Medea and Electra, than upon wars undertaken for empire and for freedom against the Barbarians."

With the exception of the Theoricon, the most considerable expences of the festivals were those for sacrifices, plays, and processions. In many festivals all these three were combined, as, for instance, at the great Dionysia; and such festivals must therefore have been extremely expensive[253]. The sacrifices were of very different kinds; a number of small offerings, consisting either of young pigs, sheep, cocks, &c., or of cakes, and fruits, were sacrificed to some god or object of worship: of this description

[252] Cap. 6.

[253] An account of the costliness of the Dionysia, especially on account of the sacrifices, is given in the second book of Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. sec. 6. where it has been thought that Athens was meant. It is however by no means certain that it relates to that town, as may be seen from Schneider's note. It seems to me most probable that it should be referred to Antissa, as the man is called Ἀντισσαῖος, who is mentioned as the originator of the proposal there cited.

were the sacrifices performed before every public assembly and every sitting of the senate and the courts of justice; and, in the second place, more expensive sacrifices, which had been in use from early times. The ancient and most sacred offerings were called paternal sacrifices (πάτριοι θυσίαι), and were opposed to those which were made at the more recent, or, as they were called, the *additional* festivals (ἐπίθεται ἑορταί). In the bad times which ensued, the former were at most but sparingly solemnized, or were sometimes entirely discontinued: at the celebration of the latter great banquets were given, for which perhaps 300 oxen were slaughtered at the public cost, and the paternal sacrifices were paid for out of the rents of the sacred estates, or rather they were furnished by a contractor for a certain sum, who was indemnified out of these rents[254]. It is easy to judge of the immense number of these great sacrifices, from the fact, that the money received for skins (δερματικὸν) in Olymp. 111. 3. amounted to 5148⅔ drach-

[254] Isocrat. Areopag. 11. Οὐδ' εἴ ποτε μὲν δόξειεν αὐτοῖς, τριακοσίους βοῦς ἔπεμπον· ὁπότε δὲ τύχοιεν, τὰς πατρίους θυσίας ἐξέλιπον· οὐδὲ τὰς μὲν ἐπιθέτους ἑορτὰς (cf. Harpocrat. in h. v.), αἷς ἑστίασίς τις προσείη, μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἦγον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἁγιωτάτοις τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπὸ μισθωμάτων ἔθυον. That ἀπὸ μισθωμάτων means ἐκ τῶν τιμενικῶν προσόδων, we learn from Harpocration in this phrase. That the sacrifices were let to contractors is shewn by the last words of this article: οὐ γὰρ κατ' εὐσέβειαν ἔθυον τὰ ἱερεῖα, ἀλλὰ μισθούμενοι, and more distinctly in Lex. Seg. p. 207. of which I only transcribe the end: ἔθος γὰρ ἦν τοῖς βουλομένοις μισθοῦσθαι τὰς θυσίας, καὶ τέλος ἦν τῶν θυσιῶν πωλούμενον τῷ βουλομένῳ: an incorrect expression, for how could it be called a τέλος, when a contractor undertook any thing at the expence of the State? Concerning the neglect of the πάτριοι θυσίαι see also Lysias in Nicomach. in the passage quoted below, and concerning the public banquets in the temples Petit I. 2. 1.

mas for only seven months[c]. Thus 500 young kids were sacrificed to Diana Agrotera alone at the festival for the battle of Marathon[255]; but the frequent sacrifices of oxen were particularly designed to allure the people, on which account Demosthenes[256] connects this donation of oxen with the Theoricon. A hecatomb alone cost upon an average a talent[257]; and many other expences were necessarily connected with these solemnities. The law of Solon upon the sacred tablets (κύρβεις) had fixed the amount of the sacrifices and of other solemnities; a single one was rated at a talent. But this in the age of Lysias appeared very inconsiderable: a secretary named Nicomachus, who was employed to transcribe the laws, fixed it upon his own authority at nine talents, and moreover at a moment when the State had from poverty suffered the walls and docks to fall out of repair, and was unable to pay three talents to the Bœotians, as an indemnity for the reprisals made against them: by which means the State lost twelve talents in two years, and was incapable of performing the paternal sacrifices[258]. Demosthenes, when he was manager of the Theoricon, contributed 100 minas to the sacrifices, which he paid out of that fund[259]; a proof that,

[c] See Boeckh Inscript. T. I. p. 250. No. 157.

[255] See the passages in my Preface to the Catalogue of the Lectures in the University of Berlin, Summer, 1816. p. 4.

[256] Olynth. p. 37. 6. These were presents from the public coffers. Those referred to in the second Prytaneia of the Choiseul Inscription are quite different.

[257] Book I. 14.

[258] Lysias in Nicomach. p. 856—860. which passage has not been entirely understood by the Commentators.

[259] Decret. ap. Demosth. de Coron. p. 266. 23. Lives of the

although it was for the most part well filled, it did not satisfy the people. Besides the sacrifices furnished by the State (δημοτελῆ ἱερὰ), there were many others provided by particular corporations and societies, such, for instance, as those furnished by the boroughs (δημοτικὰ ἱερὰ) and by the companies of the Orgeones (ὀργεωνικὰ)[260]; not to mention the feasting of the tribes, of which I will speak in a subsequent part of this work. The entertainments at the festivals were either musical or gymnastic, both being attended with considerable expence. The choruses, both in and out of the plays, their teaching, maintenance, and dresses, the cost of the musicians and actors, together with the decorations, machinery, and dresses, and in the gymnastic games, the maintenance of the combatants of all

Ten Orators p. 263. where the words ἀπίδωκε δὲ καὶ θεωροῖς (a singular expression) μυρίας refer to this circumstance.

[260] Lex. Seg. p. 240. Hesychius and Harpocration in v. δημοτελῆ ἱερά. Some of these expressions occurred in the Laws of Solon, as e. g. the δημοτελῆ ἱερά. See Æsch. in Timarch. p. 47. p. 176. in Ctesiph. p. 566. These words also occur in the speech against Neæra (p. 1374. 2. p. 1374. 4.) in the Formula εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ δημοτελῆ ἱερὰ, which induced Reiske, in the Index to Demosthenes, and Buttmann *ad Mid.* p. 125. to think that the temple was meant: but εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ evidently refers in particular to the admission to the sacrifices, although it also includes permission to enter the temples in which the sacrifices were held. To these passages all the interpretations of the grammarians refer, and perhaps to the words of the Dodonæan oracle excellently emended by Buttmann ad Demosth. in Mid. p. 531. 24. Buttmann also quotes from Pollux the δημοτελεῖς ἑορτάς, from which these sacrifices were bought. Thyatir. Inscript. in Spon's Travels vol. III. part 1. p. 110. τὰς δημοτελεῖς θυσίας καὶ ἑορτὰς ἀφθόνως καὶ ἀνυπερκρίτως ἐπιτελέσαντα. Thucydides (II. 15.) has ἑορτὴν δημοτελῆ, Dio Cassius (XLIII. 25.) and Herodotus (VI. 57.) θυσίην δημοτελῆ.

kinds, and the preparation of every thing which belonged to their exercises and contests, required a considerable outlay of money: and although this was in part provided by direct Liturgies, the Choregia and Gymnasiarchy, it all came at last from the same source; and it makes no essential difference whether the State raised the money and gave entertainments for it, or whether private individuals provided the games instead of paying the money in the shape of a tax. To these must be added the prizes awarded to the successful competitor, of which some had no great value, while others were costly, and were given either in money (in the ἀγῶνες ἀργυρῖται), crowns, or tripods, which either the State or whoever defrayed the costs of the festival provided, or the conqueror himself furnished at his own expence[261]. There occurs in an inscription[262] a golden crown of victory weighing 85 drachmas, which must at the least have cost 1000 or 1200 drachmas of silver. At the games of Neptune in the Piræeus, the first Cyclic chorus that gained the victory, received, according to a regulation of Lycurgus, at the lowest a reward of ten minas, the second eight, and the third six[263]; and, even before the time of Solon, it was customary to grant to the Athenians who gained the prize in foreign sacred games (i. e. in the four great contests) rewards of a certain sum of money, which for that age were not inconsiderable, to the conqueror at the Olympic contests 500 drachmas, at the Isthmian 100, and to the others in proportion[264]. Lastly, something may be said upon the splendour of the

[261] Lysias pro Aristoph. bonis, and Inscript. 158. §. 5.
[262] No. 150. §. 15.
[263] Lives of the Ten Orators p. 252.
[264] Petit Leg. Att. I. 1. 29, 30.

Athenian Πομπαὶ or sacred processions. These indeed yielded in nothing to the theatrical representations: no expence was spared for them, and even the cavalry was partly maintained in time of peace for their sake. Another expence connected with this subject were the public burials (δημόσιαι ταφαὶ), which indeed only occurred in time of war. Again, the greater and less Theorias or sacred embassies were of frequent occurrence, which were sent, after each of the four great Grecian games, to Delos and to other sacred places for the purposes of festivals, and united in themselves sacrifices and processions. One part of the expence was borne by the Architheorus as a Liturgy, another part by the State: thus the Delphian Theori, according to an ancient law, received money for their journey and all their other expences; and thus Aristophanes mentions the wages of a Theorus to Paros of so small an amount as two oboli[265]; thus also the Delian Architheorus received a talent from the public purse[266]. The Theori were obliged to appear with a splendour and dignity suitable to the character of their nation; they themselves, wearing splendid crowns, drove into the city upon crowned chariots, which were often expensively painted, gilt, and hung with carpets[267]. When Nicias

[265] Concerning the former see Androtion ap. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1545. (comp. above book II. 6.); concerning the latter see Aristoph. Vesp. 1183. where neither the entrance-money into the theatre, nor the pay of the soldiers, can be meant, as the Scholiast thinks. The first does not at all suit the context; in the latter case a soldier may have been called in joke a Theorus, which is very improbable.

[266] Inscript. 158. §. 5.

[267] Hesych. in v. θεωρικὸς and his Commentators, and Plutarch. Nic. 3.

went as Architheorus to Delos, he built a bridge from Rhenea to Delos, for his entry, four stadii in length[268]. The passage of the Theori and Choruses from Athens to Delos cost on a later occasion 7000 drachmas[269], and the quadriennial Delian festival, which was celebrated entirely at the expence of this Theoria, cost, according to the accounts now extant, inclusively of this latter expence, but with the exclusion of many other items which have been lost, 4 talents 43 drachmas, although they were not paid out of the funds of the State, but from those of the temple of Delos. From all that has been said, it is easy to conceive that the State expended much money upon the celebration of festivals; and at times it even became necessary to resort to the public treasure for money to defray those expences. Thus in Olymp. 92. 3. five talents and a thousand drachmas were paid out of the treasure for the Athlothetæ, at the celebration of the great Panathenæa, and 5114 drachmas to the sacrificers for hecatombs, and an Olympiad earlier the Athlothetæ received at the same festival 255 Cyzicenic staters (7140 drachmas)[270]. A large part of the other payments in Olymp. 92. 3. appear, according to an account of the money disbursed from the public treasure, of which the destination is not specified, to have been also for festivals[271].

For the administration and superintendence of all reli-

[268] Plutarch. ut sup. See Taylor ad Marm. Sandw. p. 18.

[269] Inscript. 158. §. 5.

[270] Inscript. 147. 2d Prytan. Inscript. 144. Pryt. 3. Item 3.

[271] Barthélemy Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions tom. XLVIII. p. 378. calculates the money supplied out of the public treasure for the festivals, as given in the Choiseul Inscription, upon perfectly false suppositions; for which reason I have made no use of his computation.

gious solemnities certain unpaid authorities were appointed, who ranked among the principal public officers. Of this description are the Managers of the Mysteries and of the Dionysia (ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν Διονυσίων): to particular Archons certain sacrifices also belonged [272], as well as to the Generals [273], together with the Collectors of the People (συλλογεῖς τοῦ δήμου) [274], and all sacred rites at Delos were managed by the Amphictyons; but the most numerous officers were the yearly and monthly Sacrificers, the former of whom were ten in number; and again there were Sacrificers for the Revered Goddesses or the Eumenides (ἱεροποιοὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν, ἐπιμήνιοι, ἱεροποιοὶ ταῖς σεμναῖς θεαῖς) [275]. For the games there were Athlothetæ, who had the particular care of the great Panathenæa (though probably with the exception

[272] Sigon. R. A. IV. 7.

[273] Inscript. 157. §. 2, 3.

[274] Inscript. 157. §. 2.

[275] Hesychius in v. ἱεροποιοί, and his Commentators, who quote Photius and other grammarians, Poll. VIII. 107. and his Commentators, Lex. Seg. p. 265. they also occur particularly often in Inscript. 157. I. p. 250. See also Barthélemy ut sup. p. 342. The ἱεροποιοὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν, quoted by Photius, are taken from Demosth. in Mid. p. 552. 6. Whether they, as Creuzer represents them (*Symbolik vol.* IV. *p.* 518.), were properly priests for sacrifices might appear uncertain, if Demosthenes did not shew that they at least performed the commencement of the sacrifice, or the immolation of the victim (τὸ κατάρξασθαι τῶν ἱερῶν). The grammarians also consider the ἱεροποιοὶ as having actually performed the sacrifice. Aristotle Polit. VI. 8. expresses himself too generally to allow a safe conclusion to be drawn. That they had however certain duties of administration to perform is evident from the Choiseul Inscription and from Inscript. 158. That the σεμναὶ θεαὶ are the Eumenides is remarked by Ulpian, Photius, and Harpocration, in v. σεμναὶ θεαὶ, and Lex. Seg. p. 303.

of the sacrifices)[276], as also the Agonothetæ, &c. Lastly, the βοῶναι, or Purchasers of Oxen, were considered among the highest officers; Demosthenes ranks them with the Sacrificers, and Libanius with the Sitonæ, Generals, and Ambassadors: they were elected by the Public Assembly, and provided the cattle and animals which were slaughtered at the sacrifices and feasts[277]; a proof how important to the people these institutions were, which suited equally their appetite and their principles of religion, and by which we are forcibly reminded of the Roast Beef of Old England.

(13.) The public donations, or distributions among the people (διανομαὶ, διαδόσεις), were of frequent occurrence. To these belong the distributions of corn, which have been mentioned before[278], the Cleruchiæ, and the revenues from the mines, which before the time of Themistocles were divided among the citizens; and, lastly, the money of the Theorica, for the introduction of which Pericles is chargeable. For this statesman, finding himself unable by reason of the scantiness of his fortune to vie with other public leaders and demagogues in liberality, thought of supplying his private incapacity (according to the testimony of Aristotle, at the suggestion of Demonides of Œa) by a distri-

[276] See the Choiseul Inscription Pryt. 2. although the grammarians assert (see Barthélemy and Photius, and Lex. Seg.) that the sacrificers had nothing to do at the great Panathenæa.

[277] Demosth. in Mid. p. 570. 7. and there Ulpian. Liban. Declam. VIII. Harpocrat. Suid. in v. βοώνης, Lex. Seg. p. 219. Harpocration: ὅτι λαμπρὸς ἦν ὁ βοώνης καὶ αἱ μέγισται ἀρχαὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐχειροτονοῦντο. Pollux VIII. 114. falsely includes them among the inferior offices, or offices of *service* (ὑπηρεσίαι). They occur frequently in Inscript. 157.

[278] Book I. 15.

bution of the public revenue, and bribed the multitude partly with the Theorica, partly with the payment of the Dicasts, and salaries of other descriptions[279]: while he at the same time maintained himself in popular favour by processions, feastings, and other solemnities. The great admirer of the Lacedæmonian customs, who, like Plato and his master, formed a correct judgment in a moral point of view, perceived that Pericles had made his countrymen covetous and indolent, loquacious and effeminate, extravagant, vicious, and unruly, by maintaining them at the public expence with donatives, salaries, and Cleruchiæ[280], and by flattering their sensuality and love of enjoyment by sumptuous festivals; nay, even Pericles himself had too acute a mind to overlook the consequences of his own measures; but he considered that there was no other means of maintaining his own and the people's sovereignty in Greece, than by supporting the populace in this manner; he was aware that with him the power of Athens would cease, and he endeavoured to preserve it as long as was possible; but upon the whole his contempt for the people was as great as his liberality towards them. In the mean time the people, so long as Pericles lived, were neither wanting in activity nor public spirit, which tended to make these measures more harmless; and as long as neither injustice abroad, nor negligence in the national enterprizes, nor disorder in the State, resulted from them, it might appear just and equitable that the citizens should enjoy the fruit of their exertions and valour. Besides which Pericles could not suspect that, twenty Olympiads after his death, the multitude would rather consume the public

[279] Plutarch. Pericl. 9. cf. 11.

[280] Plat. Gorg. p. 515. E. Plutarch. Pericl. 9.

revenues in feasting, than equip an armament in defence of their freedom, a corruption which was first produced by the avaricious and treacherous demagogues of later days, who flattered every whim of the twenty thousand headed Hydra. These considerations might then appear to palliate the conduct of Pericles. But he must have been aware that the unavoidable result of his measures was to increase the oppression of the allies, the dominion of the multitude, and the injustice towards the opulent citizens; while Pericles himself only raised the tribute by a small amount, his successors were forced to augment it to a far greater extent, in order to keep up his profuse expenditure. The surplus of the tributes was brought by talents at the Dionysia into the orchestra to be distributed: here the allies were shewn in what light their property was viewed[281]. The oligarchical party was well aware that the abolition of these payments would be a severe blow to the democracy; and accordingly, during the government of the Five thousand (Olymp. 92. 1.), which was only of very short duration, no superior office received any salary[282]. Aristotle[283] has indeed already remarked, that the different kinds of salaries, for example, the wages of the Public Assembly, are dangerous to the chief persons in the State, for that they occasion the imposition of property-taxes, confiscations of property, and bribery of justice. Not only was it the practice to adjudge property to the State, in order to increase the revenue[284], but the demagogues publicly declared in law-suits, that if judgment

[281] Isocrat. συμμαχ. 29.
[282] Thucyd. VIII. 97.
[283] Polit. VI. 5.
[284] Lys. in Nicom. p. 861.

was not given in some certain manner, the salaries could not any longer be paid to the people[285]; and therefore the wealthy, in order to prevent this jealousy, made voluntary donations of their possessions[286]. It sometimes happened that the proceeds of the confiscated property were distributed among the citizens without any authority; and even Lycurgus divided in this manner 160 talents, which the property of Diphilus had produced. Thus they were not satisfied that by these distributions the State was deprived of its most powerful resources for useful and advantageous objects, but those who profited by these measures encouraged in the people a desire after the property of others, and widened the breach between the rich and poor, which in the States of antiquity was an incessant and highly dangerous evil. Aristotle justly compares these institutions to the perforated vessel of the Danaides, as the Athenians were perpetually receiving taxes, and then paying them away, and were then compelled to raise fresh supplies[d]; but the moral corruption which they caused was a far more pernicious consequence; the Athenians were themselves, to make use of an illustration of Plato's, the vessels of the Danaides, which were continually receiving the gratification of their desires, without ever being completely satisfied.

The distribution of the Theorica, which, as we have seen, produced such fatal consequences to the Athenians, took its origin from the entrance-money to the theatre.

[285] Lys. in Epicrat. init.

[286] Herald. Animadv. in Salmas. Observat. ad I. A. et R. VI. 3. 13.

[d] [Aristot. Polit. VI. 5. Ὅπου δ' εἰσὶ πρόσοδοι, μὴ ποιεῖν ὰ νῦν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ποιοῦσι· τὰ γὰρ περιόντα νέμουσι. λαμβάνουσι δὲ ἅμα καὶ πάλιν δέονται τῶν αὐτῶν· ὁ τετρημένος γάρ ἐστι πίθος ἡ τοιαύτη βοήθεια τοῖς ἀπόροις.]

The entrance was at first free, and crowds and tumults having arisen from the concourse of many persons, of whom some had not any right to enter, it was evidently to be expected that in a theatre constructed of wood, which was the only one that Athens then possessed, the scaffolding would break; and this accident in fact took place; to avoid which evil it was determined to sell the seats for two oboli; but in order that the poor might not be excluded, the entrance-money was given them, on the delivery of which each person received his seat [287]. Persons of high rank no doubt at first disdained this as well as other donations [288]; although in the age of Demosthenes they received the Theoricon [289]. It is possible that the entrance-money for the theatre was introduced before the Theoricon was first paid by the State: it may be fairly supposed that, the citizens having for a time defrayed it at their own expence, the State undertook to pay for the poor; and the introduction of the entrance-money may be fixed without improbability as early as the 70th Olympiad, at which time the scaffolding fell in suddenly, when Pratinas, and

[287] Liban. Argum. ad Demosth. Olynth. 1. Schol. Lucian. Timon. 49. Suidas in the first article of θεωρικὸν, and Etymol. in v. θεωρικὸν ἀργύριον, where, as in Photius, there is a mixture of the articles occurring in the other grammarians. The account given in Lex. Seg. (δικ. ὀνόμ.) p. 189. 29. does not deserve to be mentioned.

[288] Cf. Herald. Animadv. in Salmas. Obser. ad I. A. et R. VI. 3. 11.

[289] Philipp. IV. p. 141. 18. which oration, as Valckenaer and Wolf have justly remarked, is not the production of Demosthenes, but is composed of different passages of this orator, and is written in the style of a sophist. The defence of the Theoricon in particular, which occurs in p. 141., is in direct contradiction with Demosthenes.

probably also Æschylus, were representing in the theatre[290]. But the payment of the Theoricon out of the public money was first introduced by Pericles[291]; and when Harpocration calls Agyrrhius the author of the Theoricon in the extended sense of a distribution of money, he refers to an increase of it made at a later period, of which I shall presently speak[292]. This distribution of the Theoricon filled the theatre[293]. We may observe, that the entrance-money was paid to the lessee of the theatre (θεατρώνης, θεατροπώλης, ἀρχιτέκτων)[294], who was bound to keep the theatre in repair, and who paid something to the State for rent, as we see in the case of the theatre at the Piræeus. Ulpian, a writer on whom very little dependence can be placed, affirms that one obolus was given to the lessee of the theatre, or, as he calls him, to the Architecton, and that the citizens received the other for their support; this statement is however without foundation, for, according to Demosthenes, the regular entrance-money was two oboli[295]; although it is so far true, that a separate payment of Theorica was made for the banquet of the citizens[296]. It

[290] Vid. Græc. Tragœd. Princip. p. 38. and more particularly Hermann's de Choro Eumenidum Æschyli Diss. II. p. VIII, XIV.

[291] Ulpian. ad Demosth. Olynth. 1. Plutarch. Pericl. 9.

[292] Petit IV. 10. 9. unjustly charges the grammarian with confusing this with the pay of the Assembly.

[293] Plutarch de Sanit. Tuend. p. 373. vol. I. ed. Hutt.

[294] Ulpian. ad Demosth. Olynth. 1. cf. Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. 11. [See Rose Inscript. p. 257.]

[295] De Corona p. 234. 23.

[296] Harpocrat. in v. θεωρικὸν (from Philinus), from which the second article of θεωρικὰ in Suidas, and the third in Photius, is transcribed. As this is frequently the case, I shall not always quote Suidas and Photius, where they have nothing new.

might also be supposed that, as Demosthenes reckons the entrance-money among the smaller revenues of the State, the payment was received on the public account, and not for the lessee; but even though the tenant received it, it might have been enumerated among the national profits, inasmuch as he paid a rent to the State; so that this example from Demosthenes, who only speaks in general terms, and without any great precision, proves nothing in contradiction to my opinion. The privilege of receiving the Theorica was obtained through registration in the book of the citizens (ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον)[297]; the distribution was made both individually and by tribes[298], absentees receiving nothing[299]; and it took place in the Assembly[300], which was sometimes held in the theatre, particularly when the business related to the celebration of the Dionysia[301]. The application of the Theorica was soon extended, and money was distributed on other occasions than at the theatre[302], though always at the celebration of some festival; and as either a play or procession was invariably connected with it, the name still continued applicable. Under the head of Theorica were also comprised the sums expended upon sacrifices and other solemnities[303]. Not only at the Panathenæa[304], but at all the great festivals (ἱερομη-

[297] Demosth. in Leochar. p. 1091 sq.

[298] Herald. ut sup. VI. 3. 10. also Lucian Timon. 49.

[299] Hyperides ap. Harpocrat. ut sup.

[300] Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 642.

[301] Lex ap. Demosth. in Mid. p. 517. cf. Isocrat. συμμαχ. 29.

[302] Libanius ut sup.

[303] Hesych. in v. θεωρικὰ χρήματα, θεωρικὸν ἀργύριον, and θεωροί, and his Commentators. See above chap. 7.

[304] Hesych. in v. θεωρικὰ χρήματα. Dem. in Leochar. ut sup.

σίαι) [305], Theorica were distributed. In the Choiseul Inscription we find that in Olymp. 92. 3. from the public treasure alone (probably however on condition of repayment) in the first seven Prytaneias 16 talents 4787 drachmas were paid to the Hellenotamiæ, under the name of Diobelia, which formed a part of the Theorica. The citizens were thus enabled to celebrate the festival with greater luxury; and from this various application of the money there has arisen an uncertainty whence the Theoricon took its name; and Ammonius, in direct contradiction to Cæcilius, denies that it had reference to *spectacles* (θέαι) [306]. From this uncertainty the question suggests itself, whether the rate of the Theoricon for the separate festivals was not raised when its objects were multiplied, and whether the difference in the statements of ancient writers may not be thus explained. The grammarians speak in general of two oboli [307]; the inscription above referred to mentions the Diobelia, as also Aristotle and the Lexicon Rhetoricum [308]. In an oration falsely indeed attributed to Demosthenes, but not on that account undeserving of credit [309], the Theoricon, for the distribution of which a nominal assembly was held, is estimated at

[305] Ulpian. ad Demosth. Olynth. III.

[306] Ammonius in v. θεωρὸς, where he falsely derives it from θεῶν ὁρεῖν: διὰ τὸ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβεῖν καὶ ἐπιβύειν (as Valckenaer corrects for ἐπιθεῖν) καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι.

[307] Ulpian, Libanius, Suidas, in the first article, Etymol. Photius in the first article, Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1183.

[308] Aristot. Polit. II. 5. (II. 4. 11. ed. Schneid.), who calls it διωβολία, although he speaks of it with another view. Schneider has not examined the subject with sufficient accuracy. Lex. Seg. p. 237. διωβελία· ὀβολοὶ δύο, οὓς καθήμενος ὁ δῆμος ἐμισθοφόρει.

[309] περὶ συντάξ. p. 169. 1.

two oboli. On the other hand, Philochorus, as quoted by Harpocration, states, that "the Theoricon was originally a drachma for the theatre, whence in after times it received its name," and the grammarians mention the same amount[310]; Lucian[311] speaks of the drachma and the three oboli, where from the context the former can only be referred to the Theoricon, and the latter to the pay of the Assembly or of the Dicasts; and in the spurious Proœmia to the Public Speeches of Demosthenes[312] it is said, "with the drachma, and the chus (of wine probably), and the four oboli (which latter I confess I cannot explain), the orators prolong the life of the people, as physicians do of the dying." The difficulty appears to vanish if we admit that the Theoricon was very variable, which seems to be pointed at by Harpocration; nor will I deny that this was the case: since however two oboli are mentioned both in ancient and recent times, it does not appear to have been raised by increasing the regular rate; the change was probably effected by doubling or trebling the same two oboli for festivals which lasted several days, in such a manner that for a festival of three days a drachma was given, and for one of two days four oboli, to which the above-cited passage of the Pseudo-Demosthenes may be referred. Hesychius, Suidas, and Zenobius, indeed assert, that in the Archonship of Diophantus the Theoricon amounted to a drachma; but this is not contrary to my

[310] Hesych. and Suid. in v. δραχμὴ χαλαζῶσα, Zenob. III. 27.

[311] Demosth. Eulog. 36. where J. M. Gessner thinks that the drachma is the pay of the orators, which however is too small a sum for the regular stipend, to be meant here. He should have rather instanced the pay of the senators.

[312] P. 1459. 27.

supposition. Diophantus was Archon in Olymp. 96. 2. according to Petit's correct remark, against which it is needless to object that the nation could not at that time have given so high a Theoricon, as it had not yet recovered from its impoverished State; for it was precisely at this moment that the condition of Athens began to ameliorate; and with the democratic constitution which then existed, it would undoubtedly have been the first object to restore the Theoricon: and this probably was in fact the case; so that for three great festivals of three days a Diobelia was paid three times. From a passage of Harpocration[313], rather obscurely expressed, it may be inferred that its renewal was effected by Agyrrhius, who flourished at this period, and who, as will be presently shewn, tripled the pay of the Assembly about the same time. Moreover it may be observed, that in the age which followed the Anarchy, the price of an ordinary place in the theatre remained at two oboli[314]; the price of the best places at

[313] In v. Θεωρικά: Θεωρικὰ ἦν τινα ἐν κοινῷ χρήματα ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς πόλεως πρόσοδων συναγόμενα· ταῦτα δὲ πρότερον μὲν εἰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας ἐφυλάττετο καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο Στρατιωτικὰ, ὕστερον δὲ κατετίθετο εἴς τε τὰς δημοσίας κατασκευὰς καὶ διανομὰς, ὧν πρῶτος ἤρξατο Ἀγύρριος ὁ δημαγωγός. Photius has the same article, only the most important part, the mention of Agyrrhius, he omits.

[314] Demosth. pro Corona p. 234. where he says if it had not been ordered that the Architecton was to assign a place to Philip's ambassadors, they must have sat ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν, which should not be taken with Hier. Wolf for δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν, for in that case what would be the use of the preposition and the article? Reiske correctly refers it to a particular place; it means however a common, as opposed to a good, seat; such, for instance, as the place of those who had the privilege of Proedria (cf. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 466.), which the ambassadors occupied: what Ulpian (p. 281. ed. Bekker), or rather the collection of scholia com-

the representation of comedies was at the highest no more than a drachma[315].

If we reckon that eight thousand people received the Theoricon—and the number of the receivers cannot have been well less—the Diobelia for one day amounted to a talent; and since it was without doubt paid on twenty-five or thirty days in the course of a year, the lowest rate at which we can estimate the annual expence of it, is from twenty-five to thirty talents. They were not however satisfied with allowing it to remain at this point, but, as I have before remarked, they squandered away as Theorica all the money destined for the uses of war; that the funds however of the Theorica amounted to 1000 talents, which were dissipated in this manner, as asserted by a modern writer, is a statement of which I have been unable to find any confirmation. It was by this means that the Athenians delivered themselves to the power of Macedon. "With the death of Epaminondas," says Justin[316], who probably avails himself of an idea of Theopompus, "perished also the virtue of the Athenians. For after the excitement which had been produced by the emulation existing between the Athenians and Epaminondas had ceased, they resigned themselves to indolence and inactivity, and squan-

posed of various kinds of notes, says in this place about a triobolon and of an obolus is mere absurdity.

[315] Plat. Apol. Socrat. p. 26. E. Suidas also and Photius (in the second article) in v. θεωρικά, and Schol. Lucian. ut sup. assert that a drachma was the highest sum which was given for a place; but to suppose that a lower sum was never given, as they assume, with the exception of Photius, is absurd, since it would contradict what occurs before.

[316] VI. 9. He says at the end, *Dividi cœptum est*, which is not entirely correct.

dered away on festivals and shows the public revenue which formerly had been used for the equipment of fleets and armies. Then were the taxes, with which soldiers and sailors used to be maintained, distributed among the inhabitants of the city. Thus was Philip able to gain the ascendancy." What in Pericles indeed originated from no motives of patriotism, was employed by profligate Demagogues to work upon a depraved multitude; and we may here remark that nothing can be a more striking proof how destructive the immorality of the governors is to the welfare of the governed. For is it not the fact that the chief promoters of the Theoricon were men distinguished for their effeminacy, immorality, and general depravity? Agyrrhius, who obtained such popularity by his profuse administration of the public revenue, that after the death of Thrasybulus (Olymp. 97.) he was appointed to succeed him as general[317], was notorious for his effeminacy, farmed the taxes like an usurer, and was in prison many years for embezzlement of public money[318]. Eubulus of Anaphlystus, by his distribution of the Theorica, arrived at the highest pitch of popular favour[319], and after his death great honours were decreed him (as had been done to Lycurgus and Demosthenes), which Hyperides spoke of in his oration περὶ τῶν Εὐβούλου δωρεῶν;

[317] Xenoph. Hell. IV. 8. 31. Diod. XIV. 99.

[318] Concerning him see Harpocration in v. Ἀγύρριος and there Valesius, and Suidas, also Demosth. in Timocrat. p. 742. 16. and Andocid. de Myst. p. 65. who ironically calls him τὸν καλὸν κἀγαθὸν, and the passages collected by Meursius, *Lect. Att.* VI. 4.

[319] See book II. 1. and 7. Concerning the Theorica which he distributed, see more particularly Philinus ap. Harpocrat. and Photius in v. θεωρικά.

but he was strongly suspected of being in the pay of Philip, and was actively instrumental to the downfal of his country. The severe but impartial Theopompus gave his character with perfect justice, " that he was a celebrated demagogue, active and indefatigable in his vocation, but that during his administration and by his distributions of money, Athens sunk to the lowest state of inactivity and indolence, exceeding even Tarentum in extravagance and debauchery [320]." Lastly, what shall we say of Demades, who promised each Athenian fifty drachmas for the Choëis in order to hinder the equipment of a fleet against Alexander for the support of the common safety of Greece [321]; and carried his effrontery to such a pitch as to call these distributions the cement of the Democracy [322]? Even Æschines [323] did not go so far as this, for he at least declared

[320] Theopompus in the tenth book of the History of Philip had treated of the Athenian Demagogues, and particularly of Eubulus. Some account from that source is given by Harpocration in v. Εὔβουλος, and more by Athen. IV. p. 166. E. according to whom he had called him ἄσωτος. But the passage of Theopompus quoted as a proof refers to the Athenian people and not to Eubulus: καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀσωτίᾳ καὶ πλεονεξίᾳ διενήνοχε τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ταραντίνων, ὅσον ὁ μὲν περὶ τὰς ἐστιάσεις εἶχε μόνον ἀκρατὴς, ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὰς προσόδους καταμισθοφορῶν διατετέλεκεν. Casaubon perceived this, but Schweighäuser confuses it all again, although the passage of Æschines (in Ctesiph. p. 300.) which he had already quoted upon the word καταμισθοφορεῖν might have taught him that the people is meant. Theopompus however had evidently censured Eubulus severely, and compared him to his disadvantage with Callistratus, the son of Callicrates, whose luxurious life he indeed blamed, but appears to have praised his political conduct.

[321] See book II. 6.

[322] Plutarch. Qu. Plat. X. 4.

[323] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 642.

himself hostile to the distribution of the revenue; although his professions and his real opinions probably disagreed. What however was the public and private life of Demades? Though a man of such splendid qualities of mind that an ancient said of him, that he was above the State, while he could only call Demosthenes worthy of the State, he yet became openly a traitor to his country, indulging only his own appetites, and his principles became as loose and unsteady as his judgment was perverse. It is vain to urge in extenuation of his public conduct that a fragment only of the vessel of the State was left to his charge, which was scarce worth preserving from shipwreck; he himself was, as Plutarch happily expresses it, the shipwreck of the State[324]. How disgracefully he yielded himself to the will of Antipater; how did he delight in every unlawful practice, and in dissolute opulence, fragrant with perfumes and walking in a costly chlamys! He lived in such a manner that Antipater could never supply him with money sufficient for his purposes; and aptly said of him when he grew old, that like a dressed ox upon the altar, nothing remained of him but belly and tongue[325]. His profligate life hardly allows us to bestow upon his mournful death the compassion which common humanity would dictate.

(14.) The salaries at Athens were of various kinds, but the most important were the wages of the Assembly, the Senate, and the Dicasts. The nature of Democracy requires that all public affairs should be determined upon

[324] Plutarch. Phoc. 1. where he calls him the ναυάγιον τῆς πόλεως, which does not however signify shipwreck, but a fragment of a vessel wrecked; there is however no other word by which it can be translated into our language.

[325] Plut. Phoc. 20, 26, 30.

by the whole people in an assembly, and that the business and decrees be prepared beforehand by a select body, which should have the management of them, and execute the resolutions of the popular assembly; and unless the governing power is to fall into the hands of the mob, the people should receive no pecuniary compensation for their share in the government, an expence which it is impossible to defray by revenues justly raised; it is a condition requisite for good government, that all who wish to partake in the ruling power should support themselves upon their own property. Athens was not however the only State in which the people were paid for governing; a similar system of salaries had been introduced at Rhodes by the Demagogues[326]. As to the wages of the Dicasts, it is right that some compensation should be allowed for the performance of judicial duties, and it was at all times customary; Oligarchies indeed were enabled to compel the rich by the threat of punishment to execute these duties, whereas in Democracies the poor were paid for their labour[327]. But from the number of judges in a democratical court of justice, this practice could not exist without the expences being defrayed by a tax, which it was impossible to raise without oppression. And if Athens like other States had only decided her own law-suits, it would not have been necessary to pay the Dicasts; the citizens would have remained at their business, active and industrious. But to the great injury of the allied States, Athens, in order to ensure her own power, usurped the jurisdiction over them, and the people were well pleased, that the custom-duties became by these

[326] Aristot. Polit. V. 5.

[327] Aristot. Polit. IV. 9. and 14.

means more productive, that the judicial fees were multiplied, and that the rent of houses and slaves was increased[328]. Under these circumstances the number of causes was so much augmented that there were more to decide in Athens than in the whole of Greece; and the law-suits, particularly as the festivals produced so large a number of days on which no business was done, were extremely protracted, unless indeed they were accelerated by bribery[329], against which nevertheless at Athens as well as at Rome very excellent regulations were in existence. Nearly the third part of the citizens sat as judges every day: hence that passion for judging necessarily arose, which Aristophanes describes in the Wasps, and the citizens were thus not only made averse to every profitable and useful employment, but were rendered sophistical and litigious; and the whole town became full of pettifoggers and chicaners, who were without any real knowledge of law or justice, and on that account only the more rash and thoughtless. According to the expression of the comic poet, they sat, like sheep, muffled up in their cloaks and with their judicial staff, for three oboli a day, thinking indeed that they managed the affairs of the State, while they were themselves the tools of the party-leaders.

The wages of the Assembly (μισθὸς ἐκκλησιαστικὸς) the sovereign people paid to itself. The honour of inventing this salary is contended for between Callistratus and Agyrrhius, and fortunately both claimants can be satisfied. Pericles, as far as we know, had no share in it, and it may be asserted with sufficient probability that this

[328] Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. 3. Aristoph. Av. 1430, 1465.
[329] Xenoph. ut sup. 3. 2.

payment had not been introduced in the early part at least of his administration. "When the noble Myronides ruled," observes Aristophanes[330], with reference to the wages of the Ecclesiasts, "no one administered the affairs of the State for money." Now Myronides was an early cotemporary of Pericles[331]; after the time then of this Myronides, and consequently long after the beginning of the influence of Pericles, the payment of the Ecclesiasts was introduced, which at first amounted to one obolus and afterwards to three. Callistratus Parnytes first introduced the obolus as the pay of the Ecclesiasts[332], and this was a considerable time before the Ecclesiazusæ of Aristophanes, which was acted in Olymp. 96. 4.; but, at what particular period we are ignorant, since who this Callis-

[330] Eccles. 302.

[331] Myronides was general in the 80th Olympiad, Thucyd. I. 105, 108. IV. 95. Diod. XI. 97, 81. Cf. Plutarch. Pericl. 16. The Myronides in Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 742. 25. is a different person. [Myronides was introduced by Eupolis in the Δήμοι (ap. Plutarch. Pericl. 24.) as holding a dialogue with Pericles: if therefore Eupolis first exhibited in 429. B. C. the year in which Pericles died (Clinton Fast. Hell. p. 63.) the Δήμοι must have been his first play; and consequently Myronides had a part in public affairs in the last year of the life of Pericles. Photius in μὴ παιδὶ μάχαιραν. Εὔπολις Δήμοις· μὴ παιδὶ τὰ κοινά, i. e. probably, "do not trust the management of public affairs to Alcibiades." This allusion is not inconsistent with the date 429. B. C. for two years afterwards he was mentioned by Aristophanes in the Δαιταλεῖς (427. B. C.), at which time, as Elmsley says, *ad Acharn.* 716. "inter claros oratores habitus est Alcibiades."]

[332] Append. Vatic. Proverb. III. 35. Ὀβολὸν οὐχὶ Παρνύτης. That Petit should suppose (III. 1. 3.) that the Ecclesiasts here mentioned might be the orators, is quite natural, as he always hits upon the most improbable explanation.

tratus was is wholly unknown. The most celebrated of the persons of this name is Callistratus, the son of Callicrates, of Aphidna, the near relation of Agyrrhius[333], a famous orator and general in the 100th and 101st Olympiads[334], censured for his private life by Theopompus, but praised for his zeal in the public service[335]; he is said to have excited Demosthenes to the study of eloquence by the famous law-suit concerning Oropus[336], and having been at first acquitted, was afterwards condemned to death in Olymp. 104. 3.; he lived in Macedonia, chiefly at Methone, and was the founder of Datum[337]; and is doubtless the person to whom the improvement in the system of custom-duties in Macedonia is ascribed[338]; finally, after his return from exile he was put to death. This person however lived at too late a period to have been the introducer of the obolus; and still less can we suppose it to have been the Callistratus, who was Archon in Olymp. 106. 2. Not then to mention less noted per-

[333] Concerning him see Demosth. pro Corona p. 301. 18. in Timocrat. p. 742. 23. de Fals. Leg. p. 436. 13. Orat. in Neær. p. 1353. 19. and p. 1359. 18. in Timoth. p. 1187. 7. p. 1188. 10. p. 1198. 10. The latter speech, together with that against Neæra, is probably not the work of Demosthenes, according to the suspicion of the ancients ap. Harpocrat. in v. κακοτεχνιῶν.

[334] See book III. 18. He also occurs in Xenophon's Hellenics.

[335] Ap. Athen. IV. p. 166. E.

[336] Cf. Ruhnken. Hist. Crit. Orat. p. 140. vol. VIII. of Reiske's Orators.

[337] Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1220, 1221. Scylax p. 27. Isocrat. συμμαχ. 9. Comp. Niebuhr Transactions of the Berlin Academy for 1804—1811. p. 93, 94.

[338] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. 2. 22. This he did in his exile, not for Athenians, as Schneider appears to think, but for the Macedonians.

sons of this name, it is more probable that Callistratus, the son of Empedus, is meant, who in Olymp. 91. 4. perished as commander of cavalry in the Sicilian expedition[339]; or perhaps Callistratus of Marathon, who in Olymp. 92. 3. was treasurer of the Goddess[340], and probably is the same person as the Knight of the tribe Leontis (to which Marathon belonged), who was killed during the Anarchy by the party in the Piræeus[341]. The increase in the wages of the Ecclesiasts to three oboli evidently took place but a short time before the Ecclesiazusæ of Aristophanes; perhaps in Olymp. 96. 3.[342], when Agyrrhius re-established the Theoricon; to him also the Scholiast upon Aristophanes[343] ascribes the first introduction of the wages of Ecclesiasts; from which it is evident, as Petit remarked[344], that he was the person who increased them.

[339] Pausan. VII. 16. In the Lives of the Ten Orators (Demosth. ad init.) this one is strangely confounded with the celebrated Aphidnæan.

[340] Choiseul Inscription, at the beginning.

[341] Xenoph. Hell. II. 4. 18.

[342] Aristoph. Eccl. 302, 380, 392, 543. This increased pay also occurs in the Plutus vs. 329. which passage is therefore from the second edition produced in Olymp. 97. 4.; the date of the first is Olymp. 92. 4. The triobolon in the Ecclesia is also mentioned by the Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 171.

[343] Eccl. 102.

[344] Leg. Att. III. 1. 3. The Scholiast of Aristophanes (Plut. 329, 330.) speaks of the pay being raised to three oboli, which was said to have been done by Cleon, but we must avoid understanding this of the wages of the Ecclesiasts, which are there confounded with the pay of the Dicasts, although the words are not ambiguous; it refers to the wages of the Dicasts. Both have been frequently confounded with one another by both ancient and

The number of the Athenian citizens cannot be taken on an average, as has been before shewn, at more than 20,000; it is absurd then to suppose that there were assemblies of 30,000 persons. But of these 20,000 many were absent in the country on military service, or upon mercantile business; or even if they were in the city, they did not attend the assembly; so that, particular cases being excepted, it is impossible to imagine that the assembly ever contained even this number to the full. But after the introduction of the three oboli, there was a more numerous attendance of the poor citizens. "Formerly when the Ecclesiasts only received one obolus," says Aristophanes in the Ecclesiazusæ, "the people sat talking; now that they receive three oboli they crowd in numbers[345]; and jostle against one another for this small sum[346]." But the wealthy usually were glad to stay

modern interpreters, for instance by Spanheim upon Aristophanes, and by the Scholiast to the same poet. The author of the note to the 861st verse of the Clouds even explains the ὀβολὸς ἡλιαστικὸς as the pay of the Ecclesiasts, which passage is not to be corrected, but the mistake is solely to be attributed to the ignorance of the writer. I may also mention that I have intentionally omitted Pollux VIII. 113. as his words are too indefinite to allow us to infer from them with Meursius (Lect. Att. V. 12. VI. 4.) that the wages of the Ecclesiasts ever were an obolus; it is even preferable to refer the three words that occur there, τριώβολον, διώβολον, and ὀβολὸς, all to the pay of the Dicasts.

[345] Aristoph. Eccl. 302 sqq. Compare with this the opinion of Aristotle, that where the nation is wealthy or the Ecclesiasts receive pay, the people being unoccupied frequently assemble and decide every thing, without the Senate having any great influence.

[346] Aristoph. Plut. 329.

away from the public assemblies, so that Aristotle[347] recommended that a fine should be imposed upon them if they did not attend, and to give wages to the poor alone, in order to produce a salutary mixture of both classes; the rich therefore always composed the minority. It is probable that we should not err much if we took an assembly of the people at about 8000[e]; we know that in certain cases, particularly for the ratification of a decree, which related to an individual (*privilegium*), such as Ostracism or the admission of a fresh citizen, 6000 votes were requisite[348], in order to secure a large majority; in general then not many more than 6000 could have been present. If we suppose 8000, the wages of an Assembly taken at three oboli amount to about 4000 drachmas. Now there were forty regular As-

[347] Polit. IV. 14. Cf. IV. 6.

[e] The author says in the Addenda that "the number of citizens attending the Ecclesia is estimated too high. According to the Oligarchs in Thucydides VIII. 72. there never was an assembly of 5000 to deliberate on the most important questions: *καίτοι οὐ πώποτε Ἀθηναίους διὰ τὰς στρατείας καὶ τὴν ὑπερόριον ἀσχολίαν ἐς οὐδὲν πράγμα οὕτω μέγα ἐλθεῖν βουλεύσοντας, ἐν ᾧ πεντακισχιλίους ξυνελθεῖν.* According to this passage then it must be assumed that the 6000 votes, which was the number prescribed for certain questions, was not the number of those who voted for the particular subject in debate, but only of the citizens who voted both ways on the question, which indeed is expressly stated to have been the case with regard to the Ostracism, although when I wrote the passage in the text it appeared to me improbable. The accurate investigation of this point must however be deferred to some other occasion."

[348] Petit. Leg. Att. II. 1. 8. II. 3. 10. Sigon. R. A. II. 4. The remarks that Petit has made in different places (II. 1. 8. III. 1. 3. III. 3. ad fin.) concerning this majority of the votes, which was not by any means necessary for all decrees, arise from mere misapprehension and delusion.

semblies in a year; the extraordinary meetings (which were numerously attended) at very disturbed seasons exceeded the number of the regular[349]; but upon an average not more than ten can be fairly assumed, one being reckoned to each Prytaneia. Consequently the wages of the Assembly cannot be estimated at more than thirty or thirty-five talents, and thus it is not true that they fell more heavily on the public than the wages of the Dicasts[350]. The money was paid to each person as he entered the Assembly by the Thesmothetæ[351], which officers received it from the treasurer of the administration: those who came too late received nothing[352].

Of nearly equal amount were the wages of the Senate of Five hundred (μισθὸς βουλευτικός). These amounted to a drachma for each day on which the Senate assembled[353]. Now the Senate sat mostly on the same days as the courts of justice; that is to say, every day, with the exception of the festivals, which were the only holidays the Senators had; and consequently the number of days on which they sat was about three hundred[354]. The annual expence therefore amounted to 25 talents. In what manner the wages of the Senate were paid, we are not informed; probably by Prytaneias. When the Four hundred abolished the demo-

[349] Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 251.

[350] As Meiners says in his History of the Origin, Progress, and Decline of the Sciences, vol. II. p. 150.

[351] Aristoph. Eccl. 290.

[352] Aristoph. ibid. and 381.

[353] Hesych. in v. βουλῆς λαχεῖν, Xenoph. Hell. II. 3. 18. and his Commentators.

[354] Cf. Aristoph. Thesmoph. 85. The senate originally sat on some feast-days, and was not released from these duties till later times, as is shewn by the document in Athen. IV. p. 171. E.

cracy, and drove the Senate out of the Senate-house, they gave the Senators the whole pay for the rest of the year in advance [355].

(15.) The largest item among the salaries regularly paid in time of peace was the wages of the Dicasts (μισθὸς δικαστικὸς), the introduction of which is ascribed to Pericles by Aristotle [356], on whose accurate acquaintance with antiquity perfect reliance can be placed. And from the testimony of the same writer we learn that the wages of the Dicasts did not remain the same, but underwent some

[355] Thucyd. VIII. 69.

[356] Petit II. 10. It is therefore unnecessary to refute the Append. Prov. Vatic. III. 35. which attributes the first institution of this pay to Callistratus. [The passage in the Politics referred to, τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια μισθοφόρα κατέστησε Περικλῆς, is from a chapter which appears not to be the production of Aristotle (see Göttling *ad loc.* p. 345.; another statement in the same chapter is called in question by the author himself, vol. II. p. 261.); it is however confirmed by Plutarch, Pericl. 9. καὶ ταχὺ θεωρικοῖς καὶ δικαστικοῖς λήμμασι . . . . συνδικάσας τὸ πλῆθος, &c. The testimony of the Scholiast to Aristophanes (Vesp. 682.), cited in the next note, seems to be unfairly made use of. It is as follows: τὸν φόρον λέγει ἀφ' ὧν ἐδίδοτο τὸ τριώβολον. τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἐδίδοτο, τῶν δημαγωγῶν τὰ πλήθη κολακευόντων, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Πολιτείαις, *i. e. wages were given to the Dicasts at different rates at different times, the demagogues flattering the populace, as Aristotle says in the Politics*, viz. IV. 4. ὁ δημαγωγὸς καὶ ὁ κόλαξ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀνάλογον, &c. and V. 11. διὸ καὶ ὁ κόλαξ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἔντιμος· παρὰ μὲν τοῖς δήμοις ὁ δημαγωγὸς, ἔστι γὰρ ὁ δημαγωγὸς τοῦ δήμου κόλαξ. No objection can be made from the use of the plural Πολιτείαις; for Aristotle himself says IV. 7. ὥσπερ Πλάτων ἐν ταῖς Πολιτείαις. The same expression with regard to the variable rate of the Dicasts' wages is used by Hesychius, without any mention of Aristotle: δικαστικόν· Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ὥραις τριώβολόν φησιν εἶναι· οὐ μέντοι ἵστηκεν, ἀλλ' ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἐδίδοτο.]

change[357]. What then were these alterations, and when did they take place? Strepsiades says in the Clouds[358] that he had given the first Heliastic obolus to his son, when he was six years old, to buy a little cart; hence we learn that originally the pay of the Dicasts amounted to an obolus; and since in Olymp. 89. 1. the child is represented in the Clouds as a practised rider, this obolus must have been introduced for at least four Olympiads. The Scholiast tells us that the wages of the Dicasts amounted to two oboli in the time of the Frogs of Aristophanes; it is also stated that they were a drachma at the same period[359]. With regard to the latter statement, there is evidently a confusion either with the drachma of the Diætetæ, or with the pay of the advocates (μισθὸς συνηγορικὸς), of which latter Aristophanes speaks in a passage that the Scholiast perhaps referred to the wages of the Dicasts. But no traces occur of their wages ever having been two oboli, except a vague report in the Scholiast to the Birds, that the Dicasts had for a time received two

[357] Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 682. from Aristotle's State of Athens. Schol. Nub. 861. Plut. 329. Av. 1540. Hesych. in v. δικαστικὸν, Suidas in v. ἡλιασταί. Concerning the expression of the grammarians compare Hemsterhuis ad Plut. ut sup. Petit as usual (III. 1. 3.) founds a false view of the subject upon a false interpretation of the Scholiast of Aristophanes.

[358] Vs. 861.

[359] Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 141. (Cf. Schol. Vesp. 658. concerning the drachma). Welcker, at the above passage in the Frogs, allows that the Triobolon may have been introduced previously, but he prefers adhering to the explanation of the Scholiast, as he thinks that Aristophanes mentions two oboli according to the ancient usage, although they received three at that time. This is not very probable, and I do not doubt that he will prefer my interpretation.

oboli; either the grammarian inferred this from the words of Aristophanes (ὡς μέγα δύνασθον πανταχοῦ τῶ δυ' ὀβολῶ), or he had heard something of the Diobelia, and supposed it was the wages of the Dicasts. But the words of Aristophanes unquestionably refer to the Diobelia. That this was in full force in Olymp. 92. 3. we know from the Choiseul Inscription, and why should it not have been equally so in Olymp. 93. 3., the year in which the Comedy of the Frogs was acted? If the wages of the Dicasts had been raised before this time to three oboli, no one will suppose that the Athenians would have lowered this rate in opposition to their pecuniary interest; and in fact we find that it had been introduced previously. In the Birds of Aristophanes[360], which was acted in Olymp. 91. 2., the Triobolon occurs as the wages of the Dicasts, as is proved by the connection with the Colacretæ; and indeed it is mentioned at a much earlier date, viz. in the Knights (Olymp. 88. 4.) and the Wasps (Olymp. 89. 2.)[361]. In both plays Cleon is the chief object of ridicule, and in the Knights he is distinctly mentioned as the favourer of the Triobolon[362]; in the latter comedy he boasts of having always taken care that it did not fail; and he flatters the people by telling them that, according to ancient oracles, the pay of the Dicasts would be in Arcadia as high as five oboli; i. e. as the Scholiast adds, when the Peloponnese should be conquered[363]. If we add

[360] Vs. 1540.

[361] Eq. 51, 255. Vesp. 607, 682, 688, 797, 1116.

[362] Eq. 257.

[363] Eq. 797. This passage has been strangely misunderstood by Spanheim (ad Nub. 861.), who has inferred from it that in Arcadia the pay of the Dicasts amounted to five oboli. The Arcadians probably never thought of the Dicasts' wages: but Cleon

to this the testimony of the Scholiast to the Plutus[364], it follows with certainty that none other than this noxious demagogue, at the time of his greatest power, about the 88th Olympiad, raised the wages of the Dicasts from one to three oboli[f]. From this it seems that the rate of payment never was at two oboli; yet Pollux[365], as well as the Scholiast to Aristophanes, appears to have believed in its existence. Otherwise the grammarians, in speaking of the wages of the Dicasts, generally mention three oboli, at the same time recognizing their mutability[366]. The hero

forcibly represents to the Athenians the extension of their jurisdiction to the middle of the Peloponnese, and its consequence, a plentiful harvest of money.

[364] Vs. 330. which, although adduced in an improper place, should be referred to the pay of the Dicasts.

[f] [Zenobius and Photius in v. ὑπὲρ τὰ Καλλικράτους—Ἀριστοτέλης δέ φησιν ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ Καλλικράτην τινὰ πρῶτον τοὺς δικαστικοὺς μισθοὺς (δικαστῶν τοὺς μισθοὺς Zen.) εἰς ὑπερβολὴν αὐξῆσαι. From the expression "a certain Callicrates, Καλλικράτη τινὰ," it seems that the increaser of the Dicasts' wages could not have been a well-known person. Callistratus, the son of Callicrates, flourished about the 100th Olympiad (see above p. 306.); his father therefore might have carried this measure ten Olympiads before that time; which nearly agrees with the date given in the text for the supposed increase by Cleon.]

[365] VIII. 113. According to the explanation of Spanheim *ut sup.* which, as I have above mentioned, I prefer to that of Meursius, without however believing the account of Pollux, as Spanheim does.

[366] Poll. VIII. 20. Hesych. in v. δικαστικὸν, Suid. in v. ἡλιασταὶ and βακτηρία, Schol. Aristoph. in the passages quoted above and Plut. 277. Suid. and Phot. in v. σύμβολον, Schol. Demosth. in Reisk. Demosth. vol. II. p. 131. Lucian. Bis Accus. 12. and 15. Several other passages, as e. g. Hesychius in v. ὀβολοὶ, I omit, as they contain nothing to make them worth quoting.

Lycus, under whose protection the system of judicature was placed, regularly received his three oboli, if he had a sanctuary in the court of justice [367].

The payment of the wages of the Dicasts, which was the duty of the Colacretæ, took place at each sitting of the court [368], in the following manner. Besides the judicial staff, each person received at his entrance into the court a small tablet (called σύμβολον); at the close of the sitting he gave this to the Prytanes, and received the money for it; whoever came late into court ran the risk of receiving nothing [369]. The Prytaneia were first appointed for defraying the expence; if these were not sufficient (and how could they ever have been so), the other branches of the revenue contributed, particularly the fines, and probably in ancient times the tributes [370]. Aristophanes reckons the annual amount at 150 talents, assuming 300 days on which the courts sat, and 6000 Dicasts a day who received the Triobolon [371]; and that the expence was not less we learn from other sources. It is however to be remarked, that Aristophanes in forming his calculation

[367] See Hudtwalcker von den Diäteten p. 14.

[368] Lucian. ut sup.

[369] Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 277. whose information is chiefly taken from Aristotle's State of Athens quoted by the Scholiast at v. 278. also Suidas in v. βακτηρία, Etymol. in v. σύμβολον, Poll. VIII. 16. Aristoph. Vesp. 710.

[370] Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 682.

[371] Vesp. 660 sqq. and the Scholiast. About sixty holidays, on which the courts did not sit, are not too many for Athens; this leaves 300 sitting-days. But I am not able to find any confirmation of Hudtwalcker's supposition (*von den Diäteten* p. 30.) that the courts did not sit through the whole of Sciraphorion.

has taken the Dicasts at 6000, their highest number, who did not perform their duties every day. Six thousand were appointed for each year; and from these the Dicasts were first selected for each particular cause, and it was not till they were actually assigned to some court that they received the pay. The ten regular courts of justice at Athens, consisting each of 500 Dicasts, required only the daily attendance of five thousand [372]. Now it is true that large tribunals occur of 1000, 1500, 2000, and even 6000 Dicasts; but, on the other hand, small ones of 201, 401, &c. [373]. It is therefore possible that the expence was something less than Aristophanes states it; I am willing however to allow his estimate to pass as an approximation to the truth, when applied to the times preceding the Anarchy, and to compute the expences of jurisdiction generally at 150 talents, particularly as many small expences, in addition to the pay of the Dicasts, must necessarily have been incurred in the courts; but after the Archonship of Euclid, when the allies had revolted, it is not possible that there could have been so many Dicasts, and the expence must therefore have been less. And as in time of war the courts did not always continue sitting [374], these expences occasionally ceased. The wages of the Diætetæ were not provided out of the public money; these persons were paid for each separate cause by the litigant parties themselves. The Diætetæ received a drachma from the plaintiff at the commence-

[372] See Matthiä Miscell. Philog. vol. I. p. 251 sqq. comp. also p. 158.

[373] Besides Matthiä see Pollux VIII. 53 and 48. Lex. Seg. p. 310. 30. and p. 189. 20. Phot. in v. ἡλιαία.

[374] Lys. περὶ δημοσ. ἀδικ. p. 590.

ment of the suit, and again the same sum from both parties at the Antomosia, and at every Hypomosia[375]. A grammarian of mean authority[376] states that the Diætetæ arbitrated many law-suits, and that the public authorities employed every possible means to prevent the sitting of the courts, in order that the State might not be compelled to expend so much money upon the wages of the Dicasts; but, judging from the disposition of the Athenians, we can at the most believe that such a motive might have influenced them at seasons of the greatest national distress; for in ordinary times they demanded pecuniary largesses for the maintenance of the people.

(16.) The wages of the public advocates or orators (μισθὸς συνηγορικὸς) occasioned a small expence, which amounted every day, i. e. for the 300 days of business, to a drachma, and not for each speech, as the Scholiast of Aristophanes erroneously asserts[377]. As these advocates were ten in number, the whole expence amounted to half a talent a year. The ambassadors also received a stipend in ancient times; and although resident embassies (a practice first introduced by the French) were unknown, it is not yet impossible that they were reckoned among the regular expences, since ambassadors were very frequently despatched to foreign States; and when they travelled to a distance, as, for example, to Persia, were

[375] This is the παράστασις or παρακατάστασις. Pollux VIII. 39. 127. Harpocrat. in v. παράστασις, and thence Suidas, Photius, and Lex. Seg. p. 290, 298. Παρακατάστασις occurs in Photius, Etymol., and Lex. Seg. See Hudtwalcker von den Diät. p. 14 sqq.

[376] Schol. Demosth. ap. Reisk. ut sup. to which statement Hudtwalcker assents, p. 34.

[377] Aristoph. Vesp. 689. and the Scholiast.

necessarily absent for a long time. The ambassadors to Philip of Macedon attended him even on marches and journeys[378]. All ambassadors, during the time that they were able to have fixed residence, were never compelled to live at their own expence; they were supported by presents which they received both in free States[379] and in countries where the government was monarchical. It may be seen from the speech of Demosthenes for the Crown, that in the Greek cities they were not only honoured with the first place in the theatres, but were hospitably entertained, and generally resided at the house of the Proxenus, although an instance occurs of an embassy to Philip having for particular reasons preferred the public inn[380]. The treasurer however usually paid them a sum in advance for thirty days, as travelling money (ἐφόδιον, πορεῖον)[381]. In the time of Aristophanes the ambassadors received two or three drachmas a day[382]. The highest pay which we meet with, such indeed as never was given in any other State, is 1000 drachmas, which was received by five Athenian ambassadors who were sent to Philip. These ambassadors remained absent three months, although they might have equally well returned at the end of one[383]. In

[378] Demosth. Philipp. III. p. 113. 18.

[379] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 393. 25. Lys. pro Aristoph. bonis p. 629. Ælian. Var. Hist. I. 22. Decree of the Arcadians in Crete in Chishull's Ant. Asiat. p. 118.

[380] Orat. de Halon. p. 81. 19. Xenoph. Hell. V. 4. 22. Dem. de Fals. Leg. p. 390. 26.

[381] Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. XI. Etymol. in v. πορεῖον, Chand. Inscript. II. 12.

[382] Acharn. 65. and from the context 602.

[383] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 390. That there were only five of

general however the Athenians sent ten ambassadors, and occasionally not more than two or three[s]. The Sophronistæ, or inspectors of the youths in the training schools, of whom there were ten annually elected by Cheirotonia, one from each tribe, received a daily stipend of one drachma[384]; the Episcopi also, who were sent to subject States, received a salary, probably at the cost of the cities over which they presided[385]. The Nomothetæ, a law-commission consisting of 501, 1001, or 1501 persons, who

them is evident from the decree in Demosth. pro Corona p. 235. Demosthenes was indeed one of the number, but his name is not in the decree, and therefore the 1000 drachmas should only be referred to the five mentioned in it, unless a subsequent decree was framed, and other ambassadors were appointed in addition to the former. My space however does not permit me to treat of this point at full length, particularly as there are great chronological difficulties connected with it.

[s] Four drachmas a day appear to have been given in later times. Menander ap. Phot. in φέρειν . . . . . Μετ' Ἀριστοτίλους γὰρ τέτταρας τῆς ἡμέρας Ὀβολοὺς φέρων.

[384] Lex. Seg. p. 301. Phot. in v. σωφρονισταί, cf. Etym. in v. in the two latter read ἑκάστης φυλῆς εἷς. The words of the Etymologist are both in Phavorinus and Stobæus. See Fischer's Ind. Æschin. in v. σωφρονισταί, where however, together with Hemsterhuis ad Poll. VIII. 138. he falsely assumes that there were a hundred Sophronistæ, from the incorrect reading in the grammarians above quoted. In the times of the emperors there were only six, and probably the same number of Hyposophronistæ, who entered their office together at the beginning of the month Boedromion, as may be concluded from an Inscription in Wheler p. 402. Spon, vol. III. part II. p. 158. The Gloss refers to Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 433. 3. where however there is only an allusion to this office, which is also mentioned in the Axiochus p. 367 A.

[385] Aristoph. Av. 1023 sqq.

were selected from those who had been Dicasts, also perhaps received a stipend; for in their former capacity they had been accustomed to the Triobolon; and the Senate was commanded by law to administer the money for the Nomothetæ [386]. The collection of the public revenue did not require any paid officers, as it was let out in farm; even when the Senate found it necessary to appoint a collector, in order to enforce payment of the farmers, he was but scantily paid. All the servants of the different authorities received salaries, for example, the Prometretæ [387]; it is however probable that these officers were paid by the sellers of the commodities measured. Originally there was an important distinction between service (ὑπηρεσία) and an office of government (ἀρχή); the former received a salary, the latter none. The heralds and clerks particularly deserve notice; since certain heralds, as well as the clerk of the Senate, the clerk of the Senate and People, and the checking-clerk and under-clerk of the Senate, were fed at the cost of the State in the Tholus or Prytaneum [388], where doubtless they also resided. To the transcribers of the laws a stipend was allowed for a fixed time, within which they were bound to complete their labours [389]; and a particular sum of money was set apart for engraving the decrees [390]. How large the salary of the physicians and the pay of the singers and musicians were at Athens and in other places has been shewn in the

[386] Petit Leg. Att. II. 1. 1. See Wolf Proleg. ad Lept. p. CXLVII.

[387] Harpocrat. in μετρητάι.

[388] See the Inscriptions quoted in Book II. 8. and Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 419. 25.

[389] Lysias in Nicom.

[390] Book II. 6.

first book [391]. And how great must have been the number of persons whom the State remunerated for their services (either by its own means or by those of subordinate corporations), such as Citharists, Gymnasts, and others of the same description. The poets also received a salary, which was allowed them by the Senate of Five-hundred; and we have reason to suppose that its amount was not inconsiderable; for Agyrrhius having been offended, as it seems, by the ridicule of comic poets, thought it worth while to persuade the people to reduce it [392]. Lastly, several hundred sailors received regular pay in time of peace. In early times the Athenians had two sacred triremes, the Paralos, the crew of which bore the name of Paralitæ (παραλῖται, also πάραλοι), and the Salaminia or Delia (sometimes simply called Theoris), and its crew were named Salaminians [393]: the latter vessel belonged to the Delian Theoria; and both these triremes, as being quick sailers, were used for other Theorias, as well as for embassies and for the transport of money and persons; in battles also, and then they conveyed the admiral. That the crew of the Paralos, although it was mostly in harbour, always received four oboli a day, we know from distinct

[391] Chap. 21.

[392] Schol. Eccl. 102. Aristoph. Ran. 370. and the Scholiast. Archinus is mentioned in the last Scholium; but the Scholiast on the Ecclesiazusæ appears better informed; and perhaps Archinus is only an error of the transcriber for Agyrrhius.

[393] Concerning both these vessels see Sigon. R. A. IV. 5. In Photius (in v. πάραλοι) the Salaminia and the Paralos are stated to be the same ship, which is false. But in the word πάραλος, and in the first article of πάραλοι, they are correctly distinguished. Concerning the name of the crew see Pollux VIII. 116. Hesych. in v. παραλίτης. Concerning the Delia vid. ad Inscript. 158. §. 1.

testimony [394]; and as the Salaminia performed the same services, we may, without any hesitation assume that the Salaminians received the same pay. The pay of the trireme-crews having been generally calculated by estimating the wages of two hundred common sailors, the pay of two triremes at four oboli a man *per* day for a year reckoned at 365 days (the intercalary month being divided among the several years) will amount to 16 talents 1333 drachmas two oboli. In latter times we meet with a trireme named Ammonis, which is undoubtedly different from the two first; and an Antigonis and a Demetrias, so called no doubt from the names of those much honoured kings; and finally a Ptolemais [395], of which it is probable, that like the tribe Ptolemais, it only succeeded in the place of the Antigonis or the Demetrias. We are not informed how the pay of these vessels was regulated; but as the Ammonis had a treasurer, it is probable the others had the same, and since the Ammonis served in time of peace, it must occasionally have had sailors who would then have received pay. I will presently speak of two other kinds of salaries paid in time of peace, the pay of the cavalry, and the maintenance of the infirm, which was also called μισθὸς or pay [396]; all these taken together caused a considerable expence. In order however to produce some diminution in the amount, and to prevent any person from obtaining greater emoluments from the State than was fair, the law ordered that no one should receive pay from more than one source (μὴ διχόθεν μισθοφορεῖν) [397]. Thus the wages of the Dicasts,

[394] Harpocrat. and Phot. in v. πάραλος.

[395] Harpocrat. and Suidas in v. Ἀμμωνὶς and there Maussac, Lex. Seg. p. 267. Phot. in v. πάραλοι and πάραλος.

[396] Æsch. in Timarch. p. 123.

[397] Demosth. in Timocrat. p. 739. 6. Petit alone (Leg. Att.

orators, Ecclesiasts, senators, soldiers, sailors, cavalry, in short all salaries whatever, precluded any person from receiving pay for other services upon the same day. Moreover the grammarians assert that pay was given out by Prytaneias [398], a statement which is incorrect in this general sense. For the Dicasts and the Assembly were (as well as the Theorica) paid by the day, the soldiers and sailors in war by the month; but of all other persons receiving salaries it may have been true. Nothing seems more natural than that the Senate of Five-hundred, the orators, clerks, and other inferior officers should have been paid by Prytaneias; with regard to the maintenance of the infirm, this was certainly the regulation, and for the soldiers and sailors in the time of peace we may suppose that it was adopted for the sake of uniformity. This mode of payment was also the most convenient for passing the accounts, which took place in every Prytaneia.

(17.) The maintenance of those citizens, who on account of bodily defects or infirmities were unable to obtain a livelihood (ἀδύνατοι), was a laudable institution. This practice however, as well as the custom of supporting children whose fathers had died in war, until they reached the age of manhood [399], belonged exclusively to the Athe-

V. 6. 2.) has believed the absurd idea of Ulpian that this means a prohibition to follow more than one occupation at the same time.

[398] Ammonius and from him Thomas Mag. in v. πρυτανῖον. Hesychius in the same word says that ἡ ἐπὶ μηνὶ μισθοφορία is also called πρυτανῖον, which probably means the pay of the Prytanes and the other Senators, which was paid by Prytaneias, for in later times the Prytaneias coincided with the months.

[399] Aristid. Panath. vol. I. p. 331. ed. Cant. [Aristotle however (Pol. II. 5.) states that in his time this last institution

nians, as compassion was a virtue rarely met with among the Greeks. With regard to the maintenance of persons who had been mutilated in war, Pisistratus is mentioned as the originator of this custom [400]; an account which has every probability, since Pisistratus was of a mild disposition, and usurpers are generally glad to seize every opportunity of conferring a benefit, with a view to make themselves popular; nor would the Athenians with their hatred of tyranny have attributed this honour to him, if he had not deserved it. According to others [401] this provision derived its origin from a law of Solon, who certainly gave the example to Pisistratus by the proposal being made, as Heraclides in Plutarch informs us, for the benefit of an individual. In early times Athens could boast of having no citizen in want of the necessaries of life, nor did any one ever disgrace the nation by begging [402]; but after the Peloponnesian war, poverty made itself every where manifest; and no small number stood in need of this assistance, if they were infirm or maimed. The bounty was restricted by law to persons whose property was under three minas [403]; but even in the age of Socrates an income of this amount was very inconsiderable; and, accordingly, all those who received this bounty were in fact nearly destitute. The Athenians however do not seem to have

existed in other States except Athens: ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις οὗτος ὁ νόμος νῦν καὶ ἐν ἑτέραις τῶν πόλεων].

[400] Plutarch. Solon. 31.

[401] Schol. Æschin. ap. Taylor. ad Lys. vol. V. p. 739. ed. Reiske. et ap. Reisk. vol. III. p. 738.

[402] Isocrat. Areop. 38.

[403] Harpocrat. Suid. Hesych. and the above-quoted passages of the Lexica in Taylor. ut sup. and the commentators upon Hesychius.

been very sparing of this donative; the individual for whom Lysias [404] wrote his speech in order to prove that he was deserving of this support, carried on certainly some trade, although he asserts it was not sufficient to maintain him, and it appears that he rode occasionally; although indeed not upon his own horse, and also because he was unable to walk without the help of crutches. This bounty was awarded by a decree of the people [405]; but the examination of the individuals belonged to the Senate of Five-hundred [406]; the payments were made by Prytaneias; consequently if any one deferred his examination in one Prytaneia he was obliged to wait till the next [407].

The unpublished Scholiast to Æschines, who is quoted by Taylor in his notes, states that this bounty amounted to three oboli a day; here then again we meet with the Triobolon of the Dicasts, which is always crossing the path of the grammarians. The money paid to the infirm was never more than two oboli or less than one: between these two rates ancient writers are divided; the obvious supposition is that some received more than others, according as their necessities were more or less urgent; but a closer consideration teaches us that the difference refers only to the times. In the time of Lysias one obolus was given [408]; afterwards

[404] [Περὶ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου.] This speech is written in such a jesting tone, that I consider it to be a mere rhetorical exercise, which was never delivered: at least the Athenians must have been very much astonished at the jocularity of this poor man when petitioning for a pecuniary allowance.

[405] Herald. Anim. in Salm. Observ. ad I. A. et R. III. 8. 4.

[406] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 123. Harpocrat. Suid. Hesych. and a Lexicon in the Bibl. Coislin. p. 603. p. 238.

[407] Æschin. ut sup.

[408] Lys. ut sup. p. 749. p. 758.

when the difficulty of procuring subsistence had increased, this rate was doubled. The time at which this increase took place may be nearly ascertained from the grammarians. Harpocration[409] states "that the infirm or impotent (ἀδύνατοι) received two oboli a day, as some say, or one obolus, as Aristotle in the constitution of Athens states; but as Philochorus says, nine drachmas every month." Suidas gives the same account from Philochorus[410]; Hesychius mentions two oboli without any farther limitation. In Suidas and other Lexicons[411], it is stated that some received one, and others two oboli; but Bast has proved that the reading in Suidas is erroneous; and according to the true reading the grammarian says that some writers mention that they received one, and others two; it is evident therefore that the error should be corrected in the same manner in the other Lexicons. We see from these passages that Aristotle as well as Lysias spoke only of one obolus[412]: and we may thence infer that up

[409] In v. ἀδύνατοι, where the right reading is preserved in the Paris MS. in Bast's Epist. Crit. p. 176. δύο ὀβολοὺς τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μέν φασιν ἑκάστης.

[410] In v. ἀδύνατοι, comp. Zonaras in v. ἀδύνατοι. The Lexicon in the Bibl. Coisl. p. 603. falsely charges Philochorus with saying that they received five oboli a day; but there is an error of the copyist, viz. ε instead of ἐννέα δραχμάς, as Alberti has shewn by the comparison and correction of Bibl. Coisl. p. 238.

[411] Suid. in v. ἀδύνατοι; Zonaras, and the Lexicon in Bibl. Coisl. p. 238. In Suidas it should be written οἱ μέν φασιν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ὀβολοὺς δύο, οἱ δὲ ὀβολόν. See Bast's Epist. Crit. p. 176.

[412] For although the Lexicon in Bibl. Coisl. p. 603. represents Aristotle to have said that they received two oboli, without making any mention of one, this is an evident error, which is not worth the trouble of refutation.

to the time of the latter this bounty was not greater; it must therefore have been subsequently raised, perhaps, between the times of Aristotle and Philochorus, who was a youth when Eratosthenes was an old man. For the statement of Philochorus is the same in substance with the other account, that they received two oboli a day; which for the month of twenty-nine days gives nine drachmas four oboli; the latter the grammarians omit. Philochorus's computation by months proves of itself that he is speaking of later times, when the Prytaneias coincided with the months; it does not however follow from this that the increase did not take place before the introduction of the twelve tribes. If we could now ascertain how many upon an average were in need of this bounty, an estimate of the expence might be made; but the assumption of Meursius that they amounted to five hundred, is founded upon a false reading in Suidas[413]. Considering however the necessitous condition of most of the Athenian citizens, and the frequency of wars, five hundred may be assumed as the lowest number of the old, blind, lame, sick and maimed, who were to be maintained; and the expence of their maintenance, according as we reckon it at one or two oboli a head, may be at the lowest estimated at five or ten talents. To this must be added the support of the orphan children, whose fathers had perished in war; for whose instruction also the State provided until their eighteenth year, in order that their education might be completed before they were sent forth into society[414]. That the

[413] Meurs. Lect. Att. VI. 5. The passage in Suidas which others thought that they had corrected, was first ingeniously emended by Bast Epist. Crit. p. 176.

[414] Comp. Petit Leg. Att. VIII. 3. 6.

number of orphans after so many wars was considerable, might have been assumed without the authority of Isocrates[415]. The support which private individuals procured by means of a particular agreement which they made by entering into a society (ἔρανος) differed from public maintenance[416]. The society itself and the money subscribed were each called Eranos, the members Eranistæ, their whole number, the company of the Eranistæ (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐραριστῶν), and their president an Eranarch. Their objects were of the most various description; if some friends wanted to provide a dinner, or a corporation to celebrate a solemnity, to give a banquet, or forward any particular purpose by bribery[417], the expence was defrayed by an Eranos. Associations of this kind were very common in the democratic States of Greece, and to this class the numberless political and religious societies, corporations, unions for commerce and shipping, belonged: many of them, more particularly the religious associations (θίασοι), were possessed of real property[418], and like States and subordinate corporations they had power to make decrees, which they recorded upon stone[419]; and lastly, there

[415] Συμμαχ. 29.

[416] I only mention this subject in a few words: several early writers have treated on it at full length, who mutually correct one other, of which the chief are, Petit Leg. Att. V. 7. 1. Salmasius de Usuris chap. 3. Defens. Misc. chap. 1 sqq. Herald. Observ. chap. 43. Animadv. in Salmas. Observ. ad Il. A. et Rom. VI. 1—8. An account more suited to common readers but not without some errors may be seen in Birger Thorlacius' *populäre Aufsätze das Gr. Röm. und Nord. Alterth. betreffend.* German transl. p. 71 sqq.

[417] Demosth. pro Corona p. 329. 15.

[418] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. II. 2. 3.

[419] See for example Chandl. Inscript. II. 22, 127.

were laws concerning these companies (ἐρανικοὶ νόμοι), and law-suits called after their name (ἐρανικαὶ δίκαι); in which, as well as in the commercial causes, a more rapid course of justice was prescribed [420]. Another kind of Eranos is that which was made for the support of the destitute citizens; it was founded upon the principle of mutual assistance, and it was expected that the members who had been relieved should pay the money back again when they had raised themselves to better circumstances [421].

(18.) A small expence was occasioned by one part of the public allowances and rewards. Under this head may be mentioned the public entertainments (σίτησις ἐν πρυτανείῳ), which many others, besides the fifty Prytanes and certain inferior officers, received as a mark of distinction, and which must have cost two or three talents a year. The donation of the golden crown (στέφανος) was by no means a rare occurrence; the Senate of Five-hundred, if it performed its duties honestly, was presented with a crown every year [422]; nations gave crowns to one another, and private individuals were frequently crowned by the State: how great was the weight of these golden crowns has been already shewn [423]. In ancient times however they were not frequently given; those who after the Anarchy brought back the people from Phyle to Athens, only received chaplets of leaves, the value of which at that time was greater than of golden crowns in the age of Demosthenes [424].

[420] See book I. 9. Pollux VIII. 144.

[421] Isæus de Hagn. Hered. p. 294. Theophrast. Char. 17.

[422] Dem. in Androt. cf. Æschin. in Timarch. p. 130.

[423] Book I. 5.

[424] Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 570 sqq. and particularly p. 577.

The erection of a metal statue (εἰκὼν) to a person who had deserved well of the State, was in early times still more unfrequent; after Solon, Harmodius, and Aristogiton, this honour was first conferred upon Conon, as having liberated his country from the intolerable yoke of the Spartans[425]. But in later times this reward ceased to confer any distinction; Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus received crowns in honour of their services, as well as others, although their deeds were not thought worthy to be recounted[426]. But in that age trifling or even negative services were highly celebrated, and in the time of Demetrius Phalereus this practice was carried to such a pitch, that in one year they erected to him three hundred and sixty statues, in chariots, on horseback, and on foot[427]. This frivolous expenditure partly owed its origin to the Theoricon, by which the Demagogues had made the people indolent, and had induced them to flatter their corruptors[428]; and partly resulted from the general decline of the State and of morals, and the loss of that simplicity and honesty, which disdaining

[425] Demosth. in Lept. p. 478.

[426] Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 635. See the oration περὶ συντάξεως p. 172.

[427] Diog. Laert. V. 75. and the passages there quoted by Menage.

[428] Comp. Nepos Miltiad. Of these and of other marks of honour the learned K. E. Köhler has treated at full length in his excellent dissertation of which the title is *Etwas zur Beantwortung der Frage, gab es bei den Alten Belohnungen des Verdienstes um den Staat, welche dem Ritterorden neuerer Zeit ähnlich waren*, third book, in the Dörptische Beiträge for 1814, first and second half; which dissertation I have not been able to make use of, as I did not meet with it till after the completion of this work.

outward splendour, finds a sufficient reward in the exercise of virtues. Athens from her republican constitution, which would always have prevented this corruption from attaining its utmost height, only displays a feeble shadow of what in monarchies or despotisms, in which the moral state of the people and the government is at a low ebb, appears to excess. Then are the citizens, both for the State and for themselves, covetous of titles and rank, as may be seen remarkably in the eastern and western Roman empire: titles of every description were created and lavishly distributed; regulations concerning rank, and the splendour of the oriental courts, were introduced into the west; outward show and pageantry, which render the mind vain and slavish, became the substitutes for intrinsic excellence; and as no claims could be advanced on the ground of personal merit, all consideration was derived from the favour of the ruling power. On particular occasions pecuniary rewards were bestowed at Athens. After the return of the people from the Piræeus, those who at Phyle had undertaken the restoration of the democracy, received a thousand drachmas for sacrifices and sacred offerings, which however did not amount to ten drachmas apiece [429]. According to Isocrates 10,000 drachmas were given to Pindar for his splendid praise of the Athenians, for which the Thebans had subjected him to a fine; according to others the reward given was the double of the fine which he had been condemned to pay [430]. Aristides received in honour of his father,

[429] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 575.

[430] Isocrat. de Antidosi p. 87. ed. Orell. The other account is given by the author of the Fourth epistle of Æschines p. 669. Tzetzes and others state that the fine itself was only a thousand drachmas. See the fragments of Pindar p. 74. Heyn. Schneider's

upon the proposal of Alcibiades, a hundred minas of silver, a hundred plethra of wooded land, and as much unplanted land in the island of Eubœa, and in addition four drachmas a day [431], a most absurd expence for an insignificant and worthless individual. With better reason they gave 3000 drachmas to the two daughters of this distinguished man, and to the daughter of Lysimachus the privilege of being maintained in the Prytaneum, like the victors at the Olympic contest; and other donations in money were granted to the successors of Aristides down to the time of Demetrius Phalereus [432]. These single examples, to which many others might have been added, prove that the Athenian people were not illiberal in bestowing pensions. Lastly, rewards for the discovery of offenders (μηνυτρα) deserve to be mentioned; thus in Andocides [433], two rewards of this kind occur, one of 10,000 and another of a thousand drachmas, which were both actually paid.

(19.) Although the most opulent citizens equipped themselves at their own expence, there is no doubt that the Athenian State was under the necessity of providing a store of arms, as well in time of war as during peace, that in case of need it might be possible to arm not only such citizens as from poverty could not provide for themselves, but the resident aliens, and even the slaves. That such was the practice is rendered highly probable, by the circum-

Life of Pindar p. 39. and the Life of Pindar which he has published before the Theriaca of Nicander.

[431] Dem. in Lept. 95. and Wolf's note.

[432] Plutarch. Aristid. 27. an obscure passage, the interpretation of it however would lead me too far.

[433] De Myst. p. 14. Of the nature of rewards were the prices which were set upon the heads of offenders. Cf. Aristoph. Av. 1072 sqq.

stance that large sums were expended upon naval preparations in time of peace. In the Piræeus was the marine storehouse, which contained sails, ropes, leather-bags for provisions, oars, and other articles for the equipment of vessels; and the building of ships of war was carried on unceasingly both in peace and war. Themistocles passed a law that twenty new triremes should be built every year: Diodorus [434] indeed relates this event under Olymp. 75. 4. but it is probable that he, like many other historians, has on this occasion confounded together institutions of different periods, in order to introduce the circumstances which in the narration immediately follow; and Themistocles had perhaps in fact carried the law at a much earlier period, viz. when he obtained the decree which directed the money derived from the mines to be applied to the building of ships for the Æginetan war [435]. We are not informed whether subsequently the same number of ships was built every year; but we cannot well suppose that they provided a less number; for the triremes would be falling into decay, and there were generally three or four hundred in existence. The Senate of Five-hundred had to superintend the building of the triremes [436]; if this was not done, the customary crown was denied them; the personal superintendence was delegated to commissioners called the builders of the triremes. In the time of Demosthenes the building was stopped for

[434] Diod. XI. 43.

[435] See my dissertation upon the silver-mines of Laurion in the Memoirs of the Berlin Academy.

[436] Demosth. in Androt. p. 598. 20 sqq. where there is also the account of the paymaster who ran away. The following story of Demetrius is given by Diod. XX. 46. Plutarch. Demetr. 10.

a year, the treasurer of the trireme-builders having eloped with two and a half talents: from the smallness of this sum it would be natural to conclude that not many triremes were building at the time; but as it is probable that the timber and other necessaries had been previously laid up in store, the stolen money may have been applicable only to the payment of the labourers: even this sum too may have been destined only to some particular portion of the labour; and therefore it would not be safe to infer from this fact that less than twenty triremes were built every year. After the time of Alexander the building nearly ceased, as the supply of timber from Macedonia then failed. Demetrius Poliorcetes in Olymp. 118. 2. promised the Athenians timber for a hundred triremes, a proof that there was a scarcity of it at Athens.

Another part of the military force for which Athens incurred some expence in time of peace, was the Cavalry, which was maintained partly on account of the sumptuous appearance which from the beauty of the riders and horses and the magnificence of their trappings it produced at processions; and partly because the Athenians were well aware that if both men and horses had not gone through previous training, they were unserviceable in war. The particular superintendence of this body belonged to the Senate of Five-hundred, who also examined the horses and riders[437]; the rich were bound by law to serve in it. The pay of the cavalry in time of peace was called Catastasis[438], by which name the examination of the horsemen

[437] Xenoph. de re Equestri l. 8. Œcon. 9. 15. and in the Hipparchus. Also Lycurgus ap. Harpocrat. in v. δοκιμασθείς.

[438] Lys. pro Mantith. p. 574. Harpoc. Suid. Phot. in v. κατάστασις, Lex. Seg. p. 270. Reiske's error in his note upon

made by the senate is also stated to have been called; probably because the distribution of the pay and the examinations were connected with one another; it was however a regular pay, and not an extraordinary donative, as Reiske supposed. In the speech of Lysias for Mantitheus it is mentioned, that the horsemen who had served during the Anarchy, were compelled after the restoration of the democracy to refund the money which they had received during that time: hence the grammarians by a false generalization of a particular case have inferred, that if the State dismissed the cavalry and appointed others, it required them to refund their pay to the Phylarchs [439]. But the public would probably have preferred giving none at all. The truth is that this measure was effected by a special decree, and only on that single occasion, as the knights had been the chief attendants of the thirty tyrants, and had incurred the public hatred to such a degree, that to have been a knight under the thirty tyrants was reckoned a disgrace. The expence of the cavalry in time of peace amounted, according to Xenophon [440], to forty talents; which agrees with the Choiseul Inscription, in which it is stated that there were paid out of the public treasure in four Prytaneias, 16 talents 2148 drachmas $3\frac{1}{2}$ oboli, viz. in the first, three talents 3328 drachmas $3\frac{1}{2}$ oboli, in the third five talents 4820 drachmas, in the fourth three talents, in the seventh four talents; the rest of the pay appears to have been defrayed out of the current revenue. The object of these payments was to supply the provender

Lysias had been already corrected by Larcher Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. XLVIII. p. 92.

[439] Properly it was collected by the Demarchs. vid. ad Inscript. 80.

[440] Hipparch. 1. 19.

of the horses; Ulpian expressly says that pay was given for the keep of the horses[441], and in the above-mentioned inscription this money is accounted for under the name of provender for the horses (σῖτος ἵπποις). The amount which each person received out of this grant has been differently determined by modern writers, according as they assumed a thousand or twelve hundred as the number of knights at Athens[442]. In the latter case it has been calculated that they received sixteen drachmas a month or two oboli a day, in the former twenty drachmas a month or about four oboli a day. Both estimates appear to be too low; for even the sailors who were paid in time of peace received four oboli a day, while the knights were not only obliged to keep a servant, but also two horses. The provision of a horseman in war cost the Athenians a drachma a day[443]. Doubtless the same sum was allowed in peace, and the only difference was, that in war they received provision-money in addition to their pay. This view is confirmed by the fact that the Catastasis (which was in truth nothing more than the knights' allowance for provision, in time of peace, and which they were forced after the Anarchy to refund) amounted to a drachma. I state this however solely upon the authority of an inscription, with respect to which I entertain no doubt that it refers to and establishes this fact. It thus appears to me probable, that the whole cavalry did not receive pay in time of peace, but only about six hundred; and for a long time Athens had not more than this number. Now the

[441] Ad Demosth. in Timocrat. p. 460.

[442] Petit Leg. Att. VIII. 1. 2. Barthél. Anachars. T. II. p. 184. Larcher ut sup. p. 92.

[443] See Book II. 22.

pay of these, reckoning the year at 360 days, as Xenophon does in another place, would exactly amount to thirty-six talents for that time. Xenophon too only says that the State paid annually to the cavalry nearly forty talents; nor can the payments made out of the public treasure, according to the above-quoted Inscription (which are moreover unequal in different Prytaneias) be adduced against my hypothesis, for they were contributions which might in part have been paid for arrears of preceding Prytaneias. Lastly, Barthélemy [444] asserts that the Knights frequently kept their own horses, an error into which he is led by referring to the public cavalry a passage which relates only to those citizens, who expended money upon horses either from fondness of the animal, or in order to contend for the prize at the public games.

(20.) These expences when taken together, if the lowest estimate be made of each item, did not amount annually to less than 400 talents; to these however if great works of building, extraordinary distributions of money, and large sums for festivals were added, the State might have easily consumed 1000 talents in a year, even without carrying on war, the expences of which are unlimited. Four hundred talents, which are equal to about £96,666, were in ancient times at least worth three times as much as at the present day, if the value of the precious metals is compared with that of the common necessaries of life; with this view then we may consider that the former sum is equal to triple its amount, or in the currency of modern times to about £290,000; which is in fair proportion to a population of 500,000 souls, or indeed if we consider the

[444] Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions tom. XLVIII. p. 351, referring to Lycurg. in Leocrat.

high rate of interest, low in comparison with the incomes of the inhabitants. If however in consequence of war or some particular extravagance the amount was increased (an event which was unquestionably of no unfrequent occurrence) to 1000 talents or more, and as the citizens were at such a period (as indeed at all others) forced to serve the Liturgies required by law, the expence was evidently incommensurate with the means of the State, and could not be well defrayed without oppressing the more wealthy classes by property-taxes, and without the help of tributary allies. Now war, it is certain, produced unusually large and inevitable expences. At the present day indeed the equipment of armies costs the State immense sums of money; an expence from which the Greeks were very nearly exempt; for every citizen carried with him clothes and arms into the field, which indeed may be considered as a tax levied in another form; the mercenaries also came completely armed; sometimes perhaps it happened that poor citizens, foreign settlers, or slaves, were sent into the field, and assistance on the part of the State was necessary; a point however on which we have no accurate information. Another considerable expence in modern warfare is caused by artillery and ammunition; but as in ancient days the heavier engines of war were on account of their helplessness seldom brought into the field; they in general only had to provide them upon the occasion of a siege or of the defence of fortified places: the quantity of light darts or javelins used was inconsiderable. The equipment of fleets, which was necessary for Maritime Warfare, created a separate branch of expenditure; for which it was altogether impossible that such effectual provision could have been made during peace as to leave nothing to be provided at the breaking out of war. Lastly, the infantry and cavalry,

together with the persons attending upon them, and the crews of the different ships, were to be supplied with pay and provisions: and if the total expence of providing for these services should appear to be less than would be necessary in the times in which we live, it must be remembered that although the Grecians maintained no standing army; and the funds for the pay and provision of their troops were required only for a short time, yet on the other hand the soldiers were not only better paid, and also that during the most flourishing periods of the history of Athens war was almost incessant. In order to enable the reader to take a general survey of these subjects, I will treat of them separately, after having in the first instance acquired some general knowledge of the magnitude of the military force of Athens.

(21.) Although the numbers of which the armies consisted were in the ancient times of Greece very different according to circumstances and the necessities of the occasion, and although to state any one precise number of men is no more possible than in the case of any European nation, yet it can be safely asserted that no modern State, even in the latest times in which armies have been sent into the field, maintained so large a regular force in proportion to its population as was supported by Athens. And it is equally true that her military force was not only on a par with that of all the other States of Greece, but, with the exception of Sparta, it was superior to them. What Demosthenes[445] says of Athens at the period at which he is speaking, that of all the Grecian States it had the most numerous naval force, heavy-armed infantry, and cavalry, and the greatest quantity of money, must have held good in a higher degree when the strength of Athens had not been

[445] Philipp. I. p. 51. 20.

broken, excepting that Sparta could send into the field a larger number of land-forces. Upon the irruptions into Attica at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the Peloponnesian and Bœotian forces, which were then enumerated, amounted in heavy-armed soldiers alone to 60,000 men [446], and consequently the whole army was more than double this number. We meet indeed with far more numerous armies in the Grecian States of Sicily and Italy. According to Diodorus 300,000 Sybarites contended with 100,000 inhabitants of Crotona; Philistus stated the military force of Dionysius at 100,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 400 ships of war, which required an equipment of 80,000 men. The first is an evident exaggeration, greater even than modern newspapers are accustomed to make; whether the latter is possible, I leave to others to decide. Hume[447] has already exposed the exaggerations in numbers committed by the ancients, and on the whole not without success, although he may have erred in particular points.

It is not enough to know that Athens had about 20,000 citizens who were bound to serve in war: were we to estimate its military strength merely from this datum, we should form a very incorrect judgment. The safest way to arrive at a satisfactory result is, without pretending to a complete enumeration, to collect the principal accounts of the land and sea forces at the different periods. First, it is needless to speak of the Trojan war, at which the Athenians appeared with fifty, or, according to another report, with sixty ships [448]: a somewhat more certain account may

[446] Plutarch. Pericl. 33.

[447] Essay upon the Populousness of Ancient Nations, vol. II. p. 230. Lond. 1760.

[448] Il. B. 556. Eurip. Iphig. Aul. 247. Cf. Græc. Tragœd. Princip. p. 238.

however be given of the times of Solon. Before the constitution of Cleisthenes, Athens had twelve Phratrias, and in each of them four Naucrarias or Naucarias, which, as public corporations, were originally the same that the boroughs were afterwards; they must indeed have been in existence before the time of Solon, as the presidents of the Naucrari (πρυτάνεις τῶν ναυκράρων) are mentioned before the period of his legislation [449], and probably all that Aristotle [450] means when he ascribes their institution to Solon is, that the existence of their office was confirmed by that lawgiver. Now each Naucraria furnished two horsemen, amounting altogether to ninety-six, and one vessel, making therefore in all forty-eight; and the whole military system, in respect to defraying the expences, was doubtless regulated according to Naucrarias [451]. When Cleisthenes afterwards introduced the boroughs, the Naucrarias were still retained, probably with a financial and military view; but he so far altered their constitution, that he created fifty Naucrarias, five in each tribe [452], and consequently they now furnished a hundred horsemen and fifty ships. This is perfectly consonant with the fact mentioned by Herodotus [453], that the Athenians in the war against the Æginetans anterior to the Persian wars,

[449] Herod. V. 71. Instead of these Thucydides (I. 126.) mentions the nine Archons, who probably were at the head of the Prytaneias.

[450] Ap. Phot. in v. ναυκραρία.

[451] Poll. VIII. 108. from which passage Zeun. ad Xenoph. Hipparch. 9. 3. has drawn some false conclusions, Hesych. in v. ναύκλαρος, Phot. ut sup. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 37. Ammon. in v. ναύκληροι, Harpocrat. and Suidas in v. ναυκραρία.

[452] Cleidemus ap. Phot. ut sup.

[453] VI. 89.

could only send out fifty ships of their own, and were compelled to receive twenty ships from the Corinthians in order to increase their force; and we may observe that in this case triremes and not smaller vessels are meant, as is proved by their connexion with the Corinthian ships, the Corinthians being the first who had triremes. Now Miltiades after the battle of Marathon undertook the expedition against Paros with seventy ships[454]. But it was precisely at this time that Themistocles increased the naval force, and brought it to the height at which we find it in the Persian war after the battles of Artemisium and Salamis. In the former action 271 triremes were engaged, among which there were 127 belonging to Athens, which were in part manned with Platæans, they having no ships of their own: besides these the Athenians gave twenty to the Chalcideans[455]. To these were added fifty-three other Athenian vessels, so that Athens numbered two hundred vessels among those engaged at Salamis, although the whole Grecian fleet present at that battle only amounted to 378 triremes[456]. Demosthenes in the oration for the Crown[457] agrees exactly with these state-

[454] Herod. VI. 132.

[455] Herod. VIII. 1. Herodotus in this and in nearly every place where he speaks of ships of war, means triremes, as is shewn by their being opposed to Penteconters. Comp. also VIII. 42—48.

[456] Herod. VIII. 14. 42—48. If however all the separate numbers are added together, the sum is only 366; something therefore must have been lost in the text, as others have already remarked. Concerning the 200 triremes, of 180 without the Chalcidean, compare also Herod. VII. 144. VIII. 61. Plutarch. Themistocl. II. 14. The more ambiguous passages of Isocrates (Paneg. p. 79, 82. ed. Hall.) I pass over.

[457] P. 306. 21.

ments of Herodotus, as far as the Athenians are concerned; for out of 300 Grecian he reckons 200 Athenian triremes: how it came to pass that in the speech upon the Symmoriæ[458] only 100 Athenian vessels are mentioned among 300 Grecian, I am unable to explain: this circumstance might indeed lead one to suspect that this oration is spurious, if there was not such strong internal evidence in favour of its authenticity. We may farther observe that the manning of 180 triremes required 36,000 men, of whom only a few were Platæans; but as the Athenians had at that time wholly deserted their country, it would not have been difficult to man that number of triremes solely with citizens, and aliens, taking both old and young, even without slaves; land-forces, as such, were for the moment not in existence. And how numerous these were, we learn from the battles of Marathon and Platææ. In the first of these 10,000 Athenians were engaged, including of course none but Hoplitæ; we cannot suppose that in those times there were any slaves among the regular forces; and although Pausanias[459] asserts that slaves fought for the first time in the former battle, it may be inferred from his words that they were in the ranks of the Platæans; so that as far as Athens is concerned, his testimony does not apply. Athens could not then have raised a larger number of troops, otherwise it would have done so at the times of the greatest necessity: for probably only the three superior classes were Hoplitæ, and the Thetes were light-armed; subsequently the Thetes were employed as Hoplitæ, although this is pointed out as an uncommon event

[458] P. 186. 5.

[459] I. 32. 3. They appear to have been runaway Bœotian slaves, who lived at Platææ.

in the times of the Peloponnesian war[460]. The Athenians had not any bowmen or cavalry in this battle[461]; even the small number of horsemen, which must have been in existence according to the former regulations, were not at their post; and the whole order of Knights was at that time no more than a name. Attica, from the nature of the country, was little suited for cavalry[462]; and as this species of military is powerful among undisciplined masses of infantry, the aristocracy or oligarchy in ancient days was generally composed of horsemen, a form of government which the Athenians of all the Grecian States were most averse to. Bœotia, Phocis, Locris[463], and Thessaly, were the highlands, in which the cavalry was most numerous: even the Pisistratidæ had 1000 Thessalian horsemen, which a Thessalian prince had sent to support them against the Spartans[464], and according to an ancient alliance, the Thessalian cavalry came to the assistance of the Athenians before and during the Peloponnesian war[465]. At Platææ the heavy-armed infantry of the Greeks amounted to 38,700 men; together with 69,500 light-armed troops, besides 1800 light-armed Thespians: among them there were 5000 Spartans, with 35,000 light-armed Helots and 5000 Lacedæmonian Hoplitæ, with 5000 light-armed troops; the Athenians had only 8000 Hoplitæ, together with the same number of light-armed troops, for Herodotus expressly reckons upon an average one light-armed man to each Hoplites, with the exception only of the

[460] Cf. Harpocrat. in v. ὅπλιτες. Thucyd. VI. 43.
[461] Herod. VI. 112.
[462] Herod. IX. 13.
[463] Thuc. II. 9.
[464] Herod. V. 63.
[465] Thuc. I. 102, 107. II. 22.

Spartans, of whom each one had seven with him [466]. The allied Grecian army appears not to have had any cavalry, as the equestrian nations were on the side of the Persians; but the Athenians at this battle had bowmen for the first time on land [467], who were doubtless citizens belonging to the light-armed troops, and of the class of Thetes; by sea more than 700 bowmen had already been employed at the battle of Salamis. The Athenians would without doubt have had more troops for the battle of Platææ, if they had not at the same time been compelled to furnish crews for the fleet which was engaged at Mycale, and consisted, according to Herodotus, of 110, according to Diodorus, of 250 triremes, under the command of Leotychides, and on the side of the Athenians Xanthippus [468]. In the next age the Athenian force remained nearly the same: Cimon commanded 200 Athenian and 100 allied triremes, according to one account, but, according to the more credible statement of Thucydides, both taken together amounted to 200 triremes: by land they were not stronger than before. In the battle of Tanagra (Olymp. 80. 3.) the whole Athenian land-forces were present, excepting what were at that time in Egypt; 1000 Argives were on their side, together with other allies, and yet

[466] Herod. IX. 28 sqq. cf. 61. In the number of the light-armed troops Herodotus reckons 800 more than results from his own data: this difficulty cannot be solved. I pass over the accounts of Diodorus and Pausanias, which cannot have much weight. Plutarch (Aristid. 11.) agrees in the number of the Athenian Hoplitæ.

[467] Herod. IX. 60. cf. 22. Concerning the archers in the battle of Salamis see Plutarch. Themistocl. 14.

[468] Herod. VIII. 131. Diod. XI. 34.

altogether they only made up 14,000 men[469], that is, exclusively of the light-armed troops, which were usually not taken into the account. At the same time moreover there was a fleet of 50 ships cruising against the Spartans at sea, which likewise required 10,000 men. The Athenians however endeavoured at all times to improve and to increase both the land and sea forces. It is stated by Andocides, and also Æschines in a most obscure passage[470] (from which however, after the errors have been corrected, some truth may be extracted), that in thirteen years preceding the Æginetan war (from the 77th to the 80th Olympiad) 100 new ships were added to the 200 which before existed; besides which they had formed a regiment of 300 horsemen, and had purchased the first Scythian bowmen, to the number of 300. During the armistice, which was shortly afterwards concluded with Sparta, in Olymp. 83. 3. and which was observed up to the time of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians again made great exertions in the building of ships, so that in Olymp. 87. 2. they were enabled to decree that a hundred new triremes should be provided for particular purposes[471]; the cavalry was also raised to 1200, and the same number of bowmen appointed[472]. Also after the peace of Nicias (Olymp. 89. 3.) Æschines states that they procured 300, or, according to Andocides, 400 triremes. The estimate of Pericles at the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war agrees sufficiently well with the principal

[469] Thuc. I. 107. Diod. XI. 80.

[470] Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 334—337. taken from the beginning of Andocides de Pace.

[471] See below chap. 23. It was this that floated in the mind of the orator.

[472] See above chap. 11.

statements which have been here quoted [473]. According to his account Athens had not at that time more than 3000 heavy-armed men fit for active service; besides these, 6000 of the oldest and youngest of the citizens, and as many of the resident aliens as were heavy-armed, were appointed to defend the fortifications of the city; to which must be added 1200 cavalry, including the mounted bowmen, 1600 bowmen who served on foot, and 300 triremes ready to put to sea; and, according to Xenophon [474], there were in the docks and on service altogether 400. Isocrates, with the amplification of an orator, gives the numbers at double the amount stated by all the other writers.

If we reckon that 300 triremes were manned with 60,000 men, the sum total of the crews does not amount to less than 91,800 men, a number incredibly great for a population of 500,000 souls, four-fifths of which were slaves. It might indeed be said that Athens was not able to man 300 triremes, if all the Hoplitæ were deducted; but even if about 10,000 Hoplitæ are reckoned as included in the ships' companies, the number which remains is still very considerable. This fact may however be accounted for by the following considerations. The number of Hoplitæ is larger than we find in the accounts of earlier times, as

[473] Thuc. II. 13. The inaccurate Diodorus (XII. 40.) disagrees in some points, and is not so explicit as Thucydides.

[474] Cyr. Exped. VII. 1. 27. Isocrat. Panegyr. p. 85. With regard to the number 300 compare Aristoph. Acharn. 544. The places for the ships in the Piræeus were calculated for 400, as Strabo mentions in the ninth book, adding at the same time that the Athenians had sent out that number. Whether the 400 Trierarchs who were formerly appointed every year refer to this circumstance may be questioned. See book IV. 12.

persons of greater or less age were included, who only served on garrison-duty and not in the field; and it was farther increased by the addition of some resident aliens. All indeed were regularly armed; but the whole together was not essentially unlike the rising in mass of a population on the alarm of invasion; and it comprised every individual capable of bearing arms, from eighteen to sixty years of age. The resident aliens were originally, when armed as Hoplitæ, only used as garrison-soldiers; in later times they also served in campaigns, to which aliens not yet domiciliated were occasionally summoned [475]; but they were prohibited from serving in the cavalry [476]; nor could there have been many among the Hoplitæ; for several Athenian boroughs supplied a large number of these. Acharnæ (by which we are not to understand the little village of the charcoal-burners, as is generally supposed, but a more considerable town which was celebrated for the heroism of its ancient inhabitants) [477] alone supplied 3000 [478]; consequently a greater number of aliens could be spared for the fleet; for this class of persons was probably more numerous in Attica at the time of Pericles than in that of Demetrius Phalereus; and it is well known that they chiefly served in the fleet [479]. In addition to these the State also took into its service the out-dwellers (οἱ

[475] Thuc. IV. 90.

[476] Xenoph. de Vectig. 2. 2. 5. Cf. Hipparch. 9. 6. That the resident aliens frequently went into the field is also observed by Ammonius in v. ἰσοστασίῳ, and I have remarked various passages in different authors to the same purpose.

[477] Pindar. Nem. II. 16.

[478] Thuc. II. 20.

[479] Thuc. I. 143. III. 16. Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. I. 12. Demosth. Philipp. I. p. 50. 22. and others.

χωρὶς οἰκοῦντες) as they were called, by whom we must either understand with the grammarians, freedmen, or, else persons, who, though still slaves, lived apart from their masters, and supported themselves by their own labour [480]. If it is borne in mind that the Spartans brought their Helots with them into the field, that the Thessalian mounted Penestæ were bondsmen, that a considerable number of slaves was always employed in war, as attendants on the army, who were sometimes even manumitted [481], that slaves are said to have fought as early as at the battle of Marathon, and afterwards at Chæronea when the Athenians granted them their liberty [482], it cannot excite any surprise that a large proportion of the rowers were slaves. It is remarked as an unusual circumstance that the seamen of the Paralos were all freemen [483]. At the successful sea-fight of Arginusæ there were many slaves in the Athenian fleet [484]; and it equally redounds to the honour of both parties, on the one hand that victory was chiefly owing to the slaves, and on the other that the Athenians immediately emancipated them, and made them Platæan citizens [485]. This must have taken place at an

[480] Demosth. ut sup. and Hier. Wolf's note, but more particularly Harpocrat. Suid. and Photius in v. τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας. Lex. Seg. p. 316. The author of the speech against Euergus and Mnesibulus p. 1161. 15. says of a freedman χωρὶς ᾤκει.

[481] See book I. 13.

[482] Dio Chrysost. XV.

[483] Thuc. VIII. 73.

[484] Xenoph. Hell. I. 6. 17.

[485] Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 33. cf. 193. A clearer reference to it is made by Aristophanes himself, ibid. 706. This play was produced in the same year (Olymp. 93. 3.) in which the battle was fought, but later in the year, in the month Gamelion. Con-

earlier period in the time of the Peloponnesian war; for according to Hellanicus, who could not have been alive at the time of this action, slaves who had been engaged in sea-fights were made Platæans[486]. A large number of slaves was considered not as useful only, but as necessary to a State which possessed a naval force[487]. The Athenians also employed foreign seamen who served for hire, and who remained as long only as they pleased, so that if the enemy offered better pay they immediately changed sides. Thus the Athenians were able to man far more ships than appears to have been possible if we merely judge from the numbers of the free population. It was only on some pressing emergency that citizens were employed as rowers; excepting indeed in the sacred triremes, in which the rowers were generally Thetes; Knights indeed were so employed on rare occasions, and at times even Pentacosiomedimni. Lastly, they sometimes pressed sailors in the countries of the allies, and made compulsory levies of troops, as for instance before the battle of Arginusæ,

cerning the fact comp. also Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 6. Diodorus expresses himself inaccurately XIII. 97.

[486] Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 706. τοὺς συναυμαχήσαντας δούλους Ἑλλάνικός φησιν ἐλευθερωθῆναι καὶ ἐγγραφέντας ὡς Πλαταιεῖς συμπολιτεύσασθαι. Sturz (Fragment. Hellan. p. 119.) has wholly misunderstood this passage, as he was not aware that Platæans were a kind of Athenian citizens. The Platæan rights of citizenship were first introduced at Athens in Olymp. 88. 1.; consequently this occurrence cannot be placed earlier, nor can it by any means be referred with Sturz to the battle of Salamis. [Hellanicus died in 411 B. C. the year in which the history of Thucydides breaks off; consequently he could not have alluded to the enfranchisement of the slaves after the battle of Arginusæ. See however Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 732.]

[487] Xenoph. de Vectig. 4. 42. de Rep. Athen. I. 11.

and for the Sicilian expedition[488]; and this even in the subject States, although they had long redeemed their obligation to serve in war, which arrangement the Athenians willingly concurred in, as they were rejoiced to see them thus deprived of the means of revolting[489]. Upon the whole then it would be assuming too much, if we reckoned, according to the usual computation, a servant for each Hoplites over and above the ship's company; there can be no doubt that we must consider those who served at sea in the capacity of rowers, as analogous to the servants who attended the heavy-armed soldiers by land.

The cavalry was composed of the order of Knights, but as a military force it at first increased slowly; the numbers of one hundred and three hundred I have already quoted: afterwards, according to the Scholiast on Aristophanes and Suidas[490], the number amounted to 600, and last of all there were 1200 Knights at Athens, according to the statements of Thucydides and Æschines. The ratio of the cavalry to the infantry was among the Greeks as one to ten, and 1200 horsemen are consequently nearly in this ratio to 13,000 Hoplitæ; but were all the 1200 composed of Athenians, and of the order of Knights? That this order might have contained 1200 persons no one will

[488] Xenoph. Hell. I. 6. 18. Thuc. VI. 43.

[489] Thuc. I. 99. Plutarch. Cim. 11. This had been brought about by the management of Cimon himself.

[490] Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 624. and thence Suidas in v. ἱππῆς. Diod. XIII. 72. cannot be referred to this with safety, as there may be auxiliary troops among his 1200 Athenian cavalry, for instance Thessalians. The passage of Harpocration quoted by Zeune ad Xenoph. Hipparch. 9. 3. has nothing to do with this point.

deny; and even if it contained fewer, there might have been that number of horsemen, for probably there were many Pentacosiomedimni among them. But Aristophanes only reckons a thousand Knights[491], and this too in the comedy called by their name, which was produced in Olymp. 88. 4.; the same number was given by Philochorus in the fourth book of the Atthis[492], who did not however omit to mention that their number occasionally varied; Demosthenes states the very same number[493]; and Xenophon proposes, in order to bring the cavalry more rapidly and easily to 1000 men, which he evidently considers as the usual number, that they should keep foreign horse-soldiers[494]. Larcher[495] very properly rejects the supposition of Petit[496], that the ancient writers had made use of 1000 as a round number, upon the ground that 1200 would have equally suited their purpose; and he supposes that the origin of the difference in the statements was, that from the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, until the date of the Knights of Aristophanes, they had been diminished about 200; which supposition appears to be untenable. My opinion coincides rather with Schneider's[497], that in the 1200 the mounted bowmen are included, as Thucydides expressly states; it is possible that besides these bowmen there were a thousand, viz. a hun-

[491] Eq. 225.

[492] Ap. Hesych. in v. ἱππῆς.

[493] De Symmor. p. 181. 17.

[494] Hipparch. ut sup.

[495] In his otherwise superficial Memoir on the Class of Knights in Greece, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. XLVIII. p. 92.

[496] Leg. Att. VIII. 1. 2.

[497] Ad Xenoph. Hipparch. ut sup.

dred from each tribe, who were Athenians, and armed in the Greek manner; while the 200 mounted bowmen were doubtless in the cavalry what the Scythians were in the infantry, i. e. light-armed. In this capacity they rode in front, even before the Hipparch[498]; and in an oration attributed to Lysias it is considered degrading to an Athenian to serve in the cavalry among the bowmen[499]. It is no objection to the above hypothesis, that Xenophon not only makes no mention of the existence of the foreign cavalry at Athens, but himself first proposes that such a body should be formed; for these bowmen, being light-armed soldiers, did not come into consideration when he was treating of the maintenance or improvement of the cavalry, which was composed of citizens. Thucydides mentions 1600 bowmen who served on foot, the orators only 1200; this difference also may probably be accounted for by the fact that the mercenary Scythian bowmen were at most 1200[500], but that the others were either citizens of the poorer classes, or resident aliens, who were light-armed, and chiefly trained in shooting. Bowmen occur in the battles of Salamis and Platææ, before any Scythians had been procured; and it may be distinctly seen from an inscription still extant, that a difference was made between foreign bowmen and those who were citizens (ξενικοὶ and ἀστικοί)[i]: finally, the bowmen, who occur in two Athenian military lists[501], appear to have been citizens, especially

[498] Xenoph. Socrat. Mem. III. 3. 1.

[499] Lys. in Alcib. Διαστασ. II. p. 565. This passage is decisive, although the speech is probably not the work of Lysias, but of some other contemporary.

[500] See book II. 11.

[i] Inscript. 80. I. p. 119. ed. Boeckh.

[501] In the well-known list of the killed, of the date of Olymp.

as in one immediately after the bowmen a new division begins with the superscription "foreigners" (ξένοι). The Athenians also had Cretan bowmen in pay for a time, as Thucydides and Pausanias mention.

The accounts of the military force which was in action during the Peloponnesian war appear to coincide with the numbers here ascertained; and of this I will now adduce some examples. At the very beginning of the war Pericles sent 100 ships to the Peloponnese, to which 50 Corcyræan and other allied ships were added; at the same time 30 vessels were sent to Locris, and some must without doubt have been reserved for the defence of Attica itself[502]. So again, in the second year of the war, while the enemy's troops were in the country, Pericles went to Epidaurus with 100 Athenian and 50 Lesbian and Chian triremes, having on board 4000 Hoplitæ and 300 horsemen. In the fourth year of the same war, the Lesbians having revolted, 40 triremes were sent against them; at the same time 30 were sent to the Peloponnese, and 30 others were equipped in order to protect Athens from invasion; these were manned with Athenians, who were however neither Knights nor Pentecosiomedimni, and with resident aliens[503]. At the end of the summer 1000 Hoplitæ were sent to

80. $\frac{3}{4}$. which has been edited by Spon, Maffei, Corsini, and others, in which indeed some names sound rather common and not of Athenian origin, but they may be the names of inferior persons admitted to the rights of citizenship from foreign countries; and in another inscription which I have published in the Catalogue of the Winter Lectures of the University of Berlin, 1816, 1817, as well as Clarke in his Travels. The passage of Pausanias I, 29. 5. refers to the Cretan bowmen.

[502] Thuc. II. 24—26.

[503] Thuc. II. 56. III. 3, 7, 16.

Lesbos, who themselves rowed the ships thither[504]. Thucydides remarks, that at that time the number of ships in use was very large, but that it was still greater at the beginning of the war, when Attica, Salamis, and Eubœa, were guarded by 100 ships, 100 had been despatched to the Peloponnese, and 50 more to Potidæa and to other places, amounting altogether to 250; besides these there were 4600 Hoplitæ before the walls of Potidæa (only 1600 however for some time), and an equal number of attendants[505]. Thus we find in this instance, in addition to the land-forces that remained in Attica, a body of 60,000 men in service. In the expedition to Sicily the numbers were not inferior[506]. Although the war was continued in Greece, the Athenians decreed that 60 ships should be sent to Sicily, under the command of Nicias and Alcibiades; but Nicias, rightly estimating the magnitude of the enterprize, saw that it would be necessary to have land-troops in addition to a powerful naval armament, and counselled them to send a large number of Hoplitæ, bowmen, and slingers, both of their own and of the allies, together with provision-ships and apparatus for baking. He disapproved however of the war altogether; but in consequence of his advice the People sent 60 swift-sailing triremes with 40 military transports, to which were also added 34 allied triremes and the provision-ships: the Hoplitæ were 5100 in number, of whom 700 were Thetes created for the occasion, and 1500 Athenians from the list of citizens; the others were mostly subject allies and a few mercenaries; also 480 bowmen, of whom 80 were Cretans,

[504] Thuc. III. 18.
[505] Thuc. III. 17.
[506] Thuc. VI. 8, 21, 22, 31 sqq., 43.

700 Rhodian slingers, 120 light-armed Megarian exiles, and 30 horsemen. If we reckon the crews of 134 triremes, each at 200 men, and the attendants of the Hoplitæ and cavalry, we find that they amounted to 38,560 men: 250 dismounted horse-soldiers followed at a later period, who were to have been mounted in Sicily, and also 30 mounted bowmen [507]. And yet they were able at the same time to send 30 ships to the Peloponnese [508], and other small fleets were dispersed about in various places. Nor was this all; for ten ships were sent as a reinforcement under Eurymedon to Sicily, and twenty for the blockade of the Peloponnese; where soon afterwards thirty more were sent under the joint command of Charicles and Demosthenes, with sixty Athenian and five Chian vessels, together with 1200 Hoplitæ from the list of the citizens, and others from the islands; the Thracian Peltasts, who arrived too late, were sent home again on account of the scarcity of pay; fresh troops however were received in different places; other ships were also provided, but some of them were again dismissed. When Demosthenes and Eurymedon arrived in Sicily they had 73 triremes, 5000 Hoplitæ, together with a number of Grecian and Barbarian javelineers, slingers, and bowmen [509]. Now if we add together the whole number of men of all descriptions who went, after the departure of the first fleet, to Sicily, viz. cavalry, Hoplitæ, light-armed soldiers, and ships' crews, together with the servants of the cavalry and Hoplitæ, it gives

[507] Thuc. VI. 94. cf. Plutarch. Alcib. 20.

[508] Thuc. VI. 105.

[509] Thuc. VII. 16, 17, 20, 27, 42. Diodorus is less precise in his statements than Thucydides; but he agrees with him upon the whole. See XII. 84. XIII. 2, 7, 8, 9, 11.

about 26,000 men; so that the whole military force which was sent to Sicily amounted to about 65,000 men. In this moreover the Sicilian auxiliaries are not included, but only the Grecian and Italian. But in the decisive sea fight at Syracuse only 110 ships were engaged, and some of these were in very bad condition[510]; 40,000 men survived the battle, as Thucydides informs us[511]; of whom many were destroyed by land, 8000 were put to death, 7000 made prisoners in a body; of the rest some were kept as slaves by the soldiers, and others sold[512]. Diodorus therefore makes Nicolaus underrate the number, when he states the Athenian forces in Sicily at more than 200 ships, and above 40,000 men[513]; he might have said above 60,000 men.

This loss was the greatest that the Athenians had ever experienced; although nearly equal reverses had been sustained in earlier times. "In Egypt," says Isocrates[514], whose account of the defeats of Athens, although inaccurate, is very remarkable, "200 triremes were lost, with all

[510] Thuc. VII. 60.

[511] Thuc. VII. 75.

[512] Diod. XIII. 20.

[513] Diod. XIII. 21. Manso charges Diodorus with some false statement, and censures him for exaggerating: see his History of Sparta vol. II. p. 455.

[514] Συμμαχ. 29. To what the loss of 10,000 Hoplitæ in the Pontus refers I am wholly ignorant; but hardly to the auxiliary troops of Cyrus, which had nothing to do with the Athenians. Ælian Hist. Var. V. 11. transcribes this passage of Isocrates, but purposely omits these 10,000 soldiers. The manner in which Isocrates counted the 240 ships has been shewn by Perizonius upon Ælian. Cneius Piso justly observed that the population of Attica in later times was a conflux of vagabonds and rabble, Tacit. Annal. II. 55.

their crew, 150 off Cyprus; and in the Pontus 10,000 Hoplitæ of the Athenians and the allies; in Sicily 40,000 men, and 240 triremes; and afterwards in the Hellespont 200 more: but as to the triremes which had been lost by tens and fives, and the men who had been destroyed by thousands and two thousands, who could enumerate them?" In consequence of these calamities, the Phratrias and the register of the Lexiarchs were filled with aliens, in order to replenish the number of the citizens; and the races of the most celebrated men and the noblest families, which had hitherto preserved an unbroken descent through internal troubles and disturbances, and through the vicissitudes of the Persian wars, were at length sacrificed to their struggles for dominion, and became extinct. Perhaps no country ever adopted so many strangers as Athens: hence that mixture of languages soon arose, which Xenophon complains of in his Essay upon the Athenian State; but whatever may have been the inconveniences resulting from this practice, no other means would have sufficed, after such great and repeated losses, to keep up the numbers of the citizens: with regard indeed to the defeat in Sicily, many strangers were involved in it; the greater part of the citizens were at home: for as at that precise period, after Alcibiades had been recalled from Sicily, the Spartans occupied Decelea, and kept it constantly garrisoned, it was impossible to leave the city in a defenceless state. The fact of there having been only 5000 Hoplitæ admitted into a share of the government which was introduced in Olymp. 92. 1., immediately after the Sicilian expedition[515], may indeed in part have been occasioned by the misfortunes of war, but is chiefly to be accounted for from the circumstance that the Thetes are not comprised in this number; for by

[515] Thuc. VIII. 97.

law they were prohibited from serving as Hoplitæ; and in this instance they would have been still more strictly excluded, as the registration was made in reference to an aristocratical constitution, in which the Hoplitæ were to compose the Public Assembly; for which reason many citizens, even who were not Thetes, were unquestionably debarred from a participation. The same holds good of the 3000 in the Anarchy[516], who were Hoplitæ; but it is impossible that persons of this description alone were admitted, and we may conclude that they were selected arbitrarily from among the citizens who remained at home. By these means Athens sustained herself in the years immediately following the Sicilian expedition; and, notwithstanding her unfavourable condition, defeated the Lacedæmonians off Abydos (Olymp. 92. 2.) with eighty-six ships[517]; and, soon afterwards, for the second time, off Cyzicus[518]. Then Alcibiades appeared with 100, and afterwards Conon with 70 ships[519]; and this fleet being unsuccessful, the Athenians in Olymp. 93. 3. equipped 110 ships within thirty days, the crews of which were composed of all persons who were able to serve in war, both slaves and citizens; and there were even some Knights who went with them. To these were added ten Samian and more than thirty other allied vessels, and several which had been detached to different places were recalled; making altogether 150; while Conon retained seventy under his immediate command, of which thirty were lost[520]. The crews of the ships that fought at

[516] Xenoph. Hell. II. 3. 12, 13. 4. 2.
[517] Thuc. VIII. 104. and Diod. XIII. under Olymp. 92. 2.
[518] Xenoph. Hell. I. 1. Diod. XIII. under Olymp. 92. 2.
[519] Xenoph. Hell. I. 5. Diod. under Olymp. 93. 1, 2.
[520] Xenoph. Hell. I. 6. Diod. under Olymp. 93. 3.

Arginusæ alone amounted to more than 30,000 men; those of Conon's fleet to 14,000, and many persons capable of bearing arms must necessarily have remained at home. Lastly, in the battle of Ægospotamos the Athenian force amounted to 180 triremes, which would require alone 36,000 men [521].

Even after the unfortunate termination of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians soon recovered themselves, and in Olymp. 100. $\frac{3}{4}$ were enabled to think of equipping, according to Polybius, a hundred ships and 10,000 Hoplitæ; or according to Diodorus, 200 ships, 20,000 Hoplitæ, and 500 cavalry [522]. The forces of Chares, Timotheus, Chabrias, and Iphicrates were not inconsiderable, as we learn from the Historians; according to Isocrates the State possessed 200 triremes even at a later period than this; Demosthenes in the 106th Olympiad reckons the naval force at 300 vessels which could be sent to sea on an emergency, together with 1000 horse-soldiers, and as large a number of Hoplitæ as might be wished [523]; Lycurgus provided the State with 400 triremes [524], and so completely filled the docks that they could not contain any more; the Athenians sent to the assistance of the Byzantines not less than 120 ships together with Hoplitæ and a supply of missiles [525]; and before the battle of Chæronea, they decreed to send 200 ships to sea [526]. At this time how-

[521] Xenoph. Hell. II. 1. 13. Diod. under Olymp. 93. 4.

[522] Diod. XV. 29. Polyb. II. 62. Comp. Book IV. 4.

[523] Isocrat. Areop. 1. Demosth. de Symmor. p. 181. 17. p. 183. 15. p. 186. 8.

[524] See Meurs. Fort. Att. VII. and more particularly the third decree after the Lives of the Ten Orators.

[525] Decree of the Byzantians in Demosth. pro Corona, p. 256.

[526] Decree in Demosth. pro Corona, p. 290.

ever the military force was in a continually declining state, as the citizens were unwilling to serve, and preferred carrying on war with mercenaries, while they were squandering away the public revenue in shows and banquets at home. It is undoubtedly true that mercenaries had been frequently employed in the Peloponnesian war, both in the fleet as rowers, and by land as heavy and light-armed troops; but it had not at that time become a principle, that the whole war should depend on the services of mercenaries. Isocrates[527] at the time of the Social war complains that his countrymen no longer exerted themselves; so far from it that they employed refugees, deserters, and other criminals, who would immediately turn their arms against Athens if any body offered them higher pay: this the Athenians did at a time when they were hardly able to defray the expences of the administration; whereas formerly when there was abundance of gold and silver in the Acropolis, the citizens themselves served in war. It was a common practice to write down 10,000, 20,000 mercenaries; but it was a force which existed only on paper, and nothing more than a decree to that effect went out with the general: they chose ten Generals, ten Taxiarchs, ten Phylarchs, and two Hipparchs; but with the exception of one, they all remained at home, and together with the sacrificers, superintended the processions. Every general was two or three times put upon his trial for life or death, and when defeated with his mercenaries, was made the object of party accusations. In order to diminish this evil, Demosthenes counselled the Athenians that the fourth part of the standing army should be composed of citizens. In addition to this it often happened that the

[527] Συμμαχ. 16.

foreign leader of the mercenaries was a general, the equipments of the army were never ready at the right time, and that the war was carried on upon unsound military principles[528]. The greatest number of mercenaries which Athens collected at this time against Philip was, according to the statement of Demosthenes, 15,000 together with 2000 cavalry, which were furnished by the Eubœans, Achæans, Corinthians, Thebans, Megarians, Leucadians, and Corcyræans, in addition to the other force composed of the citizens of these nations[529]: others than these Athens was forced to maintain at her own expence.

The total numerical amount of the land army must always be estimated at twice the number of men which is stated by ancient authors, when they merely mention Hoplitæ and cavalry. For each Hoplites had an attendant (ὑπηρέτης, σκευοφόρος) who carried his baggage and provisions, and also his shield; the horseman too had a servant who attended to his horse (ἱπποκόμος)[530]. This regulation diminished the labour of the soldiers; but it must necessarily have produced a regular and continual system of depredation. That the armies were also attended by a large train of carriages and asses[531] and of suttlers does not require to be stated.

[528] Demosth. Philipp. I. p. 45, 47, 53.

[529] Demosth. pro Corona p. 306. And thence Plutarch, in his Life of Demosthenes 17. The statement in the first decree at the end of the Lives of the Ten Orators and in Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 488. is lower. Cf. ibid. 536. Æschines states a less number, as he does not include the Theban mercenaries.

[530] Thuc. III. 17. VII. 75, 78. Xenoph. Hell. II. 4. comp. Barthel. Anachar. vol. II. p. 145.

[531] Xenoph. Œcon. 84. and frequently in the Historians.

(22.) In ancient times the troops received no pay, excepting such foreign soldiers as engaged themselves in the service of a State; a practice which the Carians were the first to introduce, and which among the Greeks the Arcadians, who resembled the Swiss in such mercenary habits, were particularly prone to. Pericles first introduced the pay of the citizens who served as soldiers[532]. The payment was made under two different names; one being the wages (μισθὸς) paid for actual service, which the soldiers when the cost of their arms and clothes had been deducted, were able to lay by; and secondly the allowance for provisions (σιτηρέσιον, σιτάρχεια, σῖτος), they being seldom furnished in kind. The soldiers being free citizens, it was thought that the State was bound to pay them highly, and that if freemen voluntarily undertook this hazardous service and discharged their duties at the risk of their lives, they were entitled at least to a maintenance: the generals and commanders were however proportionally ill paid, as their distance from the common soldiers was not so great as at the present day; the honour of their situation was also considered as sufficient indemnification, and they had the chance of being remunerated by booty and contributions. The pay was generally given out in gold; by the Athenians probably for the most part in their own silver[533]; the provision-money was also given at the same time, which for that reason has not always been properly distinguished by the ancient writers from the pay, and consequently it will be impossible for us always to ascertain

[532] Ulpian ad Demosth. περὶ συντάξ. p. 50. A.

[533] That Athens sometimes paid in Cyzicenic staters, may be inferred from Demosth. in Mid. p. 570. (See however book I. note 84.)

the difference. The pay of an Hoplites never amounted to less than two oboli a day, and the provision-money to the same sum: which was still the common rate in the age of Demosthenes; since this orator reckons ten drachmas a month for the provision-money of the Hoplitæ, and thirty drachmas for that of the cavalry, together consequently they amounted to four oboli a day for each Hoplites; the attendants were not always paid separately. The life of a soldier was proverbially called, on account of this rate of pay, the life of a Tetrobolon (τετρωβόλου βίος)[534]. At the same time higher pay was frequently given. In the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the Hoplitæ who besieged Potidæa received daily two drachmas a head, one for themselves, the other for their servants[535]; in which instance the pay was doubtless rated at three oboli, and the provision at the same sum. In the Acharneans of Aristophanes[536] some Thracian soldiers are introduced demanding two drachmas for pay, including of course the provision-money: the Thracians who were sent back in the Sicilian war on account of a scarcity of money, were to have received a drachma each day[537]; this was the rate of pay for every description of force in the Sicilian expedition. If here again we reckon one half for the pay, and the other for provision, each amounted to three oboli; and this was the sum which the bowmen at Athens, who composed the city-guard, received, and as they were

[534] Eustath. ad Odyss. p. 1405. ad Il. p. 951. ed. Rom. A passage of the comic poet Theopompus, where he speaks of a payment of two oboli, can only be understood of the pay, without the provision. See book I. 22.

[535] Thuc. III. 17. to which Pollux IV. 165. refers.

[536] Vs. 158. The date of this play is Olymp. 88. 3.

[537] Thuc. VII. 27.

bondsmen it was probably not paid as wages, but provision-money [538]. Cyrus the younger at first gave a daric a month to the Grecians in his service, and afterwards one and a half [539]; the former pay would amount to twenty, the latter to thirty drachmas of silver, reckoning the ratio of gold to silver as one to ten, which is probably far too low for that age. Seuthes gave a Cyzicenic stater a month to the common soldiers, twice that sum to the Lochagi, and four times that sum to the generals [540]: this same gold coin is also mentioned in other places as monthly pay [541]; the double and fourfold scale for the commanders was probably the established rate of payment; thus Thimbron offered the common soldiers a daric a month, and the commanders in the same proportion as Seuthes [542]; sometimes indeed common mercenaries, if they particularly distinguished themselves, received from those who understood how to ingratiate themselves with them, two-fold, three-fold, and four-fold pay (διμοιρία, τριμοιρία, τετραμοιρία) [543]. In these cases the provision-money is included, without its being particularly specified. After the defeat at Mantinea, the Spartans and their allies having decreed to raise an army, the allies were permitted to contribute money instead of troops, at the rate of three Æginetan oboli a day for each foot soldier, and four times this sum for the cavalry [544]; now three Æginetan are five Athenian

[538] Comp. above book II. 11.

[539] Xenoph. Cyr. Exped. I. 3. 21.

[540] Xenoph. ibid. VII. 3. 19. cf. VII. 6. 1.

[541] Xenoph. ibid. V. 6. 12.

[542] Xenoph. ibid. VII. 6. 1.

[543] Xenoph. Hell. VI. 1. 4. Διμοιρῖται is interpreted incorrectly in Lex. Seg. p. 242.

[544] Xenoph. Hell. V. 2. 14.

oboli, which were in this case evidently to be given for pay and provision together. In the time of the Peloponnesian war, the same sum was stipulated for provision alone. For in the alliance of the Athenians, Argives, Mantineans, and Eleans, it was fixed that the State affording assistance should provide the troops which they sent with necessaries for thirty days; and that if the troops remain longer, the State to whose assistance they came should give the infantry three Æginetan oboli a day, and the cavalry twice this sum, for provision (σῖτος) [545]. It follows at the same time from these facts, that the cavalry were treated very differently from the infantry, as their pay or provision-money sometimes amounted to twice and even three or four times the pay received by the latter: at Athens the three-fold scale was adopted; if the Hoplitæ received two oboli for provision-money, the horsemen received a drachma [546]. This latter proportion existed among the Romans [547].

These examples shew that during the Peloponnesian war, the soldiers who served on land were the best paid; afterwards, and particularly in the time of Philip, less was given, as the multitude of adventurers and mercenaries had increased, and the wealthy citizens seldom served, who would have required a higher pay to have enabled them to live in a manner suitable to their habits. The pay of the naval forces was in like manner variable; although it does not appear to have fallen off in a degree at all corresponding to that of the land service; but it was first higher, then it became lower, and then something

[545] Thucyd. V. 47.

[546] Demosth. Philipp. I. p. 47.

[547] Lipsius Milit. Rom. V. 16.

higher again. As the statements given are generally of the sum total of the pay of the whole ship's company, it will be necessary first to ascertain the numbers of the crew of a trireme. In the sea as well as in the land-service a distinction was made between pay, and provision (σιτηρέσιον) [548]; in the sea service the latter was frequently given in money [549], and was supplied at the public expence, although if it happened that the generals had no money, the Trierarchs perhaps would either contribute some part, or engage the whole number of seamen at their own cost [550]. Demosthenes reckons twenty minas a month as the provision-money of a trireme [551]; which, upon the supposition that the 200 men in a trireme were paid according to the same rate, or rather that 200 times the pay of a common sailor was required for the payment of the whole crew, would come to two oboli a head, the same sum that a common land-soldier was to receive according to the plan of Demosthenes. Now since the pay and provision-money used to be equal, the common soldier received at that time four oboli for both, the sum paid to the Paralitæ as wages in time of peace [552]. On the other hand, the Athenians in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war gave the seamen as much as a drachma a day [553]; which was the case afterwards in the expedition against Sicily; when the Trierarchs also made additional

[548] Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1209. 12.

[549] Orat. in Timoth. p. 1187. 21. Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1223. 19. p. 1224. 1.

[550] The latter for example in the case in Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1208. 15.

[551] Philip. I. p. 47, 48.

[552] Book II. 16.

[553] Thuc. III. 17.

allowances to the Thranitæ, and to certain other persons employed in the ships, such as the steersman, &c.[554] If at this rate of payment we reckon the crew at 200 men, the monthly pay amounted to a talent; according to which the Egestæans, for the purpose of promoting the war against Syracuse, sent sixty talents to Athens as monthly pay for sixty vessels[555]. In general however the Athenians at that time only gave three oboli, which, it clearly appears, were both for the daily pay and provision of a sailor; if they gave a drachma, it was for the purpose of stimulating the exertions and augmenting the numbers of the men. Thus Tissaphernes promised to the seamen at Sparta an Attic drachma a day, and at first he kept his word (Olymp. 92. 1.), although afterwards at the instigation of Alcibiades he refused to give more than three oboli, until the king had allowed the whole drachma, as even Athens only gave three oboli; in withholding which he was not influenced by want of money; but, in addition to other reasons, he feared lest the possession of so much more money than they wanted should produce insubordination amongst the seamen, and lead them into dissolute habits, by which their bodies would be enfeebled. At the same time he consented, instead of three oboli a day for each man, to give three talents a month for five ships, i. e. for every ship 36 minas; if therefore we reckon 200 men to a trireme, eighteen drachmas a month or 3⅗ oboli a day would be the pay of each man[556]. In the agree-

[554] Thuc. VI. 31. with the Scholiast.

[555] Thuc. VI. 8.

[556] Thuc. VIII. 45, 29. The latter passage Palmerius and Duker have alone rightly understood: the note of the latter is the best worth consulting. It should evidently be written, ἐς γὰρ πέντε ναῦς τρία τάλαντα ἐδίδου τοῦ μηνὸς, and the words

ment between Sparta and Persia the rate fixed had been only three oboli [557], and Tissaphernes gave the rest merely as a voluntary addition, and without the approval of the king. Again, at a subsequent period, the Spartans demanded a drachma of Cyrus the younger, and maintained their unreasonable claim by saying that the Athenian sailors would desert to their side, as they only received half as much: in answer to which Cyrus appealed to the agreement, by which each ship was to receive only thirty minas a month, or three oboli for each man; however, Cyrus allowed himself to be prevailed on by their entreaties to give to each sailor an additional obolus, after which they received four oboli a day [558]. In this instance also 200 men are reckoned to the trireme. It may be farther observed that the seamen, when they were first engaged, received bounties and advances of money, that they generally made considerable demands, and after all were with difficulty retained in the service. The travelling expences of those who went away either by land or water were frequently paid, and particularly by private individuals [559].

καὶ πεντήκοντα are an unintelligible addition from VIII. 26. The preceding sentence ὅμως δὲ παρὰ πέντε ναῦς πλέον ἀνδρὶ ἑκάστῳ ἢ τρεῖς ὀβολοὶ ὡμολογήθησαν contains the same sense, since παρὰ πέντε means, *by every five ships*, and the following sentence from καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις down to ἐδίδοτο, shews the justness of this correction.

[557] Concerning the agreement see Thuc. VIII. 5. That only three oboli was the sum fixed in it is evident from Xenoph. Hellen. 1. 5. 3.

[558] Xenoph. Hell. 1. 5. 3, 4.

[559] Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1208. 16. p. 1212. 9, 19. de Trierarch. Corona p. 1231. 10. Thuc. VI. 31. Lysias pro Mantith. p. 579.

The foregoing statements relative to the pay of the sailors, concur throughout in the fact that there were 200 men to be paid in each trireme: and in these accounts the marines or soldiers, as well as the sailors, must have been included, since otherwise a separate payment for them would have been somewhere mentioned; and they are evidently comprised among the ship's company, when the ancients speak of the pay of the seamen. But as a doubt has been raised whether a trireme did in fact contain so large a crew, it appears necessary to produce additional testimony in order to confirm our supposition. According to Herodotus, Cleinias, the son of Alcibiades, served in the battle of Salamis with a trireme of his own and 200 men[560]. The same author[561] estimates the whole force of Xerxes, which consisted of 1207 ships, at 241,400 men, taking 200 for each as the regular number, inclusive of the marines that belonged to them; the 30 Epibatæ who were also on board, did not belong to the regular complement, but were added to the full crew from the Persians, Medes, and Sacæ. Plato in the Critias[562] gives a sketch of a military force for the inhabitants of Atlantica according to the custom prevalent in his own time, excepting that he speaks of military chariots, which were but seldom used even in the times between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. Of the 6000 lots into which he divides the country, each is to supply, besides a chariot and its driver, two Hoplitæ, two bowmen, two slingers, three light-armed

[560] Herod. VIII. 17.

[561] VII. 184. cf. 96. Duker ad Thucyd. VIII. 29. unjustly blames Meibomius (de Fabrica Triremium) for not including these thirty Epibatæ in the calculation.

[562] P. 119. A sqq.

soldiers for throwing stones, and the same number for throwing javelins, and lastly four seamen for the manning (πλήρωμα) of 200 ships, which gives 200 apiece. There is however one statement which does not agree with this number. In the Lexicon Rhetoricum[563] the complement of a Penteconter is stated at 50 men, or one Lochus, and the trireme at 300 men, or six Lochi. It is possible that the rowers of the triremes were distributed into six Lochi, each row upon either side being separately considered a Lochus; but that each Lochus amounted to 50 men is unquestionably false; it is more probable that the number was 25 men or thereabouts, if the Lochus was numerous, and that the marines made up the rest of the crew. But it may be said, if there were 200 men to each trireme, how could the pay of the whole crew have been exactly 200 times that which the common sailor received; a talent a month, when the common sailor received a drachma, and a half talent when he received three oboli? must not the commanders and the experienced seamen have received more than the common rowers? To this I answer as follows; that in the payment of a ship's crew it was settled once for all, that the pay of a trireme should be 200 times the wages of a common seaman: it must at the same time be considered as possible, or rather probable, that the seaman received less than the average rate of pay, and that the able seaman received somewhat more, so that what was deducted from the former was added to the latter. The Scholiast of Aristophanes[564] distinctly asserts that the Thalamitæ received lower wages, because they had the shortest oars, and consequently the lightest labour: the Thranitæ on

[563] Lex. Seg. p. 298.

[564] Acharn. 1106.

the other hand from having the largest oars had the greatest fatigue, and for this reason in the Sicilian expedition the Trierarchs made them an additional allowance, together with some other inferior persons in the vessel, probably the steersman, the Proreus, &c.; but that their regular pay was higher we are neither told by Thucydides nor his interpreter[565], who have been adduced as authorities for the fact. But even if the pay was graduated according to rank, we could not apportion the different rates for each description of seamen; especially as we are not able to ascertain with accuracy the respective numbers of each class. It is indeed scarcely possible even with the aid of conjecture to determine the proportion which the sailors in a ship bore to the soldiers; I will therefore make some addition to what has been already observed on this point with a view to render more intelligible our assumption respecting the numbers of the crew of a trireme.

Triremes were of different kinds, either swift (ταχεῖαι), or military transports (στρατιώτιδες, ὁπλιταγωγοί): the latter were completely filled with land-forces, who, as they were put on board solely for the purpose of being carried from one place to another, were for this reason ineffective in battle, and therefore never called on to fight except on emergencies[566]; the former kind however took on board no more than the full complement of men (πλήρωμα) which was necessary for working and defending the ship. The troops on board the military transports in addition to the proper crews were, like all persons who travelled by sea, called Epibatæ; 5100 men were transported in forty such vessels, according to the account of Thucydides, making

[565] VI. 31.

[566] Thucyd. I. 116. affords an instance of this.

altogether with their respective attendants more than 200 men to a trireme; the Thebans sent 300 men to Pagasæ in two triremes[567], whose motion was consequently much retarded. The Hoplitæ upon a few occasions transported themselves, performing the labour of rowing with their own hands (αὐτερέται)[568]. The crews of the swift triremes however consisted of two descriptions of men, of the soldiers or marines appointed to defend the vessels, who were also called Epibatæ; and of the sailors. These Epibatæ were entirely distinct from the land-soldiers, such as Hoplitæ, Peltasts, and cavalry[569]; and belonged to the vessel: but if it was an object to increase the usual number, it was easy to give an additional quota of land-soldiers, as for instance, the 30 to each trireme in Xerxes' fleet. The seamen, under whom I include the whole crew with the exception of the soldiers, are called sometimes servants (ὑπηρέται), sometimes sailors (ναῦται): in the more limited sense however the rowers (ἐρέται, κωπηλάται) are distinct from the servants and sailors, and only comprise those who were employed at the steerage, sails, cordage, pumps, &c. Finally, the rowers were of three kinds, Thranitæ, Zugitæ, and Thalamitæ. If now the regular crew of the swift triremes amounted to 200 men, how was this number divided? Meibomius reckons 180 rowers, in three rows, so that there were 30 upon each bank, on either side. This is a most singular hypothesis. For if there were 180 rowers, there would only remain 20

[567] Thucyd. VIII. 43. Xenoph. Hell. V. 4. 56. There were 300 citizens who were on board the triremes as Epibatæ and no rowers.

[568] Thuc. III. 18. cf. VI. 91.

[569] Xenoph. Hell. 1. 2. 4.

for all the rest of the crew, whereas the navigation of the ship alone would have required this number; if we consider only the steersman, the Proreus, the Celeustes, the Trierarches, the Nauphylax, the Toicharchs, the Diopes, the Eschareus, and the many others that were unquestionably employed; and what room do we then leave for the marines? The supposition of Meibomius is borrowed from the Quinquireme, to which Polybius assigns 300 rowers, and 120 fighting men; the former in five rows of 60 men, 30 on each side; but his reason for crowding as many rowers into the long side of the trireme, which he reckons at 150 feet, as into that of the Quinquireme which measured 105 feet, is arbitrary. Not to go into farther details, the rowers could not have amounted to more than 130 or 140 men, if we leave a sufficient number for that part of the crew, which worked the ship, and for the Epibatæ. In the Quinquireme the rowers were to the marines in the ratio of five to two; in a Penteconter there were 30 men besides the 50 rowers[570], most of whom were undoubtedly soldiers, as the number required for the working of the vessel must in this case have been smaller; probably only about ten men, so that the ratio of the rowers to the fighters was again as five to two. If therefore we reckon that there were in a trireme 130 or 140 rowers, and 40 or 50 Epibatæ, in addition to twenty other seamen, the number of rowers assumed is proportionally large. I know only of two definite accounts of the number of the Epibatæ which refer to particular occasions. Herodotus[571] tells us that the Chians having revolted from Persia, and equipped a hundred ships, distributed 40 opulent citizens as Epibatæ

[570] Herod. VII. 184.

[571] Herod. VI. 15.

in each trireme, which agrees perfectly with my computation. Plutarch[572] informs us that only eighteen men fought upon deck on board the Athenian triremes at the battle of Salamis; that of these, four were bowmen and the others heavy-armed; this estimate is however singularly low. With regard to the mode of fighting it may be observed, that the rowers struck their opponents with oars, the Epibatæ used arrows and darts at a distance, spears and swords in close combat[573]. It must not however be supposed that the rowers were so nearly defenceless. Isocrates[574] indeed in the passage in which he complains that foreigners were then serving as fighting-men, and citizens as rowers, remarks, that in descents upon the enemies' territory, the former fought as Hoplitæ, while the latter landed with the cushions on which they sat; from which it might be inferred that the rowers were unprovided with any weapons of defence: there can however be no doubt that they were armed, only not in any regular manner, every one providing for himself as he could, or as accident determined for him, some as Peltasts, bowmen, &c. that is, the Thranitæ and Zeugitæ[575], and probably the Thalamitæ also. They were therefore able to serve on land, which was necessarily the case with the Hoplitæ who rowed themselves[576]. Since then the arming of the rowers was irregular, some preparations were frequently required in order to make them serviceable on land. Thus Thrasyllus armed 5000 seamen belonging to his fifty

572 Themist. 14.

573 Compare for example Diod. XIII. 46.

574 Συμμαχ. 16.

575 Thuc. IV. 3. 2.

576 See the passages referred to in note 568.

triremes as Peltasts[577]; and on an occasion mentioned by Thucydides[578] the sailors were obliged to be provided with shields before they could serve upon land. This irregularity in the equipment of the seamen is the less surprising, as we find that even the Hoplitæ and the Epibatæ were not armed with perfect uniformity; for, had this been the case, there would have been no foundation for the story which Herodotus relates of an Hoplites in the battle of Platææ, who brought an anchor with him, in order to fasten himself to the ground[579]; or an Epibates, who made use of a spear-sickle (δορυδρέπανον) instead of a spear, as Plato[580] mentions.

The land and sea forces generally received their pay and provision at the same time; if any portion of it remained in arrear, it was commonly the pay; and the provision-money, as being necessary, was usually supplied first. In the expedition of Timotheus against Corcyra, the mercenaries had received three months' provisions in advance, but no pay had been supplied; so that there would have been considerable danger of their going over to the enemy, if Timotheus had not inspired them with confidence in his pecuniary resources by giving them the provision-money[581] in advance. Demosthenes[582] produces another instance, in which the Trierarch had received the whole of the provision-money for his crew, though he obtained no more than two months' pay for the whole time of his Trierarchy. Here too should be mentioned a

[577] Xenoph. Hell. I. 21. cf. I. 1. 24.
[578] IV. 9.
[579] Herod. IX. 74.
[580] Laches p. 183. D.
[581] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. II. 23.
[582] In Polycl. p. 1209. 12.

suggestion of the same statesman in the first Philippic, which however was never put into execution. He proposed to maintain a standing army, in order to carry on war against the Macedonians without intermission; ten ships and 2000 infantry, at an expence for each of forty talents; and 200 cavalry, at twelve talents a year: these sums however were only to be given them as provision-money; he would not allow any pay, but they were to have unlimited permission to plunder. This proposal is worthy of remark, as having no parallel in any Grecian author; it is the outline of a plan for embodying a military force to maintain itself at free quarters, and at the same time to form a permanent standing army; though its continuance was indeed limited to the duration of war. A standing army in time of peace would not only have utterly ruined the finances, had it received pay, but, if it had consisted of citizens, would have led to a military government; as the Thousand at Argos, who were required to devote themselves exclusively to the exercise of arms, and received pay for their services, took forcible possession of the sovereign power, and changed the democracy into an oligarchy [583]. The Greeks were well aware that a standing army obtained a greater degree of skill in the art of war; but they were prevented from introducing it by the nature of their constitutions: for neither were they able to realize the ideal state of Plato, in which the standing army, formed according to philosophical and moral principles, is at the head of the government; nor could they return to the oriental form of castes, an institution of universal adoption in remote antiquity, and under

[583] Diod. XII. 75, 80. Thuc. V. 81. Pausan. II. 20. Aristot. Polit. V. 4.

which Attica had in early times had her military caste; nor, lastly, could they have endured the oppression of a military government. The Romans were of the same opinion: even after their government had declined into a barbarous military despotism, it was nevertheless considered indecorous that an armed force should reside in the capital, for the purpose, as it were, of overawing the people; and in order to preserve the decorum to which they owed the continuance of all ancient forms, and even of the Senate itself, the imperial guards at Rome were compelled to wear the civil toga, and their helmets and shields were kept in the armoury[584]. With regard to the scheme of Demosthenes mentioned above, it seems strange, according to our notions, that the soldiers were to have first received money merely for provision, and to have had no pay whatever; as it appears more natural to have given them pay, and have supplied provisions by means of requisition and quartering: but the former method was too tedious and difficult in an enemy's country, if it was to be exacted regularly; and the latter was very rarely practised in the Greek States. In the first place, it was unnecessary, war being generally carried on in the favourable time of year, and the life of a camp in so mild a climate was healthy and pleasant; in the second place, it was inadmissible upon military in a foreign, and on political principles in a friendly, country. The ancients, on account of the freedom of their governments, would not, any more than England, have submitted to an institution from which every sort of oppression and injustice is inseparable, and which endangers the very existence of liberty; considering too the greater dissoluteness of their morals

[584] See Lipsius ad Tacit. Ann. I. 38.

(particularly with regard to the intercourse of the sexes and their proneness to unnatural vices), the susceptibility of their passions, the want of discipline in the armies, and the great claims and pretensions of the soldiers, the necessary consequences of such an institution would have been murders, insurrections, and revolutions. In the case of friendly States it was first necessary to ask whether an army in march or a naval force could be received into the city alone, and even this was frequently denied: if permission was granted, every thing was paid for on the spot. When Athens sent an army to the assistance of the Thebans, they received it in so friendly a manner, that the Hoplitæ and cavalry being encamped without the city, the Thebans admitted them into their houses: but in how marked a manner does Demosthenes boast that no disturbance ensued. "The three most splendid encomia of your virtues," he says[585], "the Thebans shewed on that day to all the Greeks; the first of your courage, the second of your justice, the third of your moderation: for by giving into your power what with them and all people is guarded with the greatest sanctity, their wives and children, they shewed that they had a firm assurance of your continence: and in that they judged rightly, for after the army had entered the city, no inhabitant made any complaint against you, no, not even an unjust one." The Persians however managed their army in a different manner: in their expedition to Greece they encamped indeed in the open fields, but were supported by the inhabitants: the reception and maintenance of Xerxes' army cost the Thasians alone, for their towns situated upon the main-land, 400 talents, which were paid out of

[585] Pro Corona p. 299. extr.

the public money, so that individuals did not directly bear the burden; and the Abderite said with justice that the whole State would have been destroyed if Xerxes had breakfasted as well as dined there[586]. Datames the Persian provisioned his troops in the same manner in a foreign country[587]. The Romans oppressed the provinces most grievously with their armies, especially for winter-quarters; the Prætors were not ashamed to burden one State with money for expences which had been defrayed by another: these bribes were called the *Vectigal Prætorium*, whence in subsequent times the *Epidemeticum* arose[588].

Whether the allowance for provision was given out in money or in kind, it was the imperative duty of the generals to attend to the provisioning of the troops, especially for voyages, when food could not be purchased day by day. It usually happened that a large market established itself in any place where the armies either remained for a time, or were expected. Here the soldiers supplied their wants, and upon a march their servants and beasts of burden carried provisions in the rear; suttlers and handicraftsmen followed for the sake of their own gain: Datames the Persian even supported a number of these traffickers, in order to have a share in their profits, and prohibited all others from entering into competition with them[589]. With great armies the supply of provisions was necessarily on a large scale: the Grecian army at Platææ was followed by large stores from the Peloponn-

[586] Herod. VII. 118 sqq.

[587] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. II. 24.

[588] Burmann de Vect. Pop. Rom. XII. An action of similar oppression is mentioned by Tacitus, Hist. I. 66.

[589] Pseud-Aristot. ut sup.

nese, tne care of which belonged to the attendants[590]; in like manner the Persian army was followed by whole fleets of store-ships. The provident Nicias stated it as an indispensable requisite to the undertaking of the Sicilian expedition, that wheat and roasted barley should be sent from Attica to Sicily, and that they should take with them hired bakers, who were procured from the mills by a compulsory levy[591]; the provision-fleet collected at Corcyra consisting of 30 corn-vessels, with the bakers and other handicraftsmen, such as stone-masons and carpenters, and the implements required for a siege; also a hundred smaller vessels were constrained to attend the store-ships, and many others both smaller and larger followed the army for the sake of traffic[592]. When such was the case however the soldiers doubtless purchased their provision either from individuals or from the State, which had only the care of procuring supplies, without any thing being given freely to the soldiers, unless perchance no provision-money had been paid them. When Timotheus besieged Samos, a scarcity of provisions was produced by the concourse of so many strangers; he therefore prohibited the selling of ground corn, and did not allow it to be sold plain in less quantities than a medimnus, or any liquids

[590] Herod. IX. 39. cf. 50.

[591] Thuc. VI. 22. where the bakers are called ἠναγκασμένοι ἔμμισθοι, as, although they received pay, they had been forced to follow this expedition. The worthy critic, who was puzzled with this expression, did not know how many men serve for pay contrary to their will. Πρὸς μέρος Duker rightly interprets *pro rata portione;* it is not however in reference to the corn, but means that a proportional number should be taken from each mill, ἐκ τῶν μυλώνων πρὸς μέρος, for example, two out of each.

[592] Thuc. VI. 30, 44.

in less quantities than a metretes; by these means the strangers were obliged to bring their provisions with them, and they sold whatever remained unconsumed; while the Taxiarchs and Lochagi bought food by wholesale, and retailed it among the soldiers[593]. The same must be considered to have been the case in the Sicilian expedition, and other similar occasions. If the provision was supplied in kind, which was necessarily more general with the sea than with the land service, the commanders received the Siteresion, and with that money they purchased a store of provisions. The Trierarchs supplied their inferiors with barley-meal (ἄλφιτα), cheese, and onions[594], or garlic, which were carried in nets[595]; the maza was baked from the barley-meal[596], with water and oil[597]; and if it was wished particularly to stimulate the rowers, wine also was added[598]. Probably each man received a chœnix of barley-meal a day: a comic poet indeed says of a man, who boasted of eating 2½ medimni in a day, that he would consume the provisions of a long trireme[599], although what he eat was in fact only 120 chœnices; but who will require of a jester accuracy on such a subject as this? Ptolemy gave the Rhodians, for the provision of ten triremes, 20,000 artabæ of corn[600], probably of wheat,

[593] Pseud-Aristot. II. 23. Polyæn. III. 10. 10.

[594] Plutarch. de Glor. Ath. 6.

[595] Thence the saying, σκόροδον ἐν δικτύοις, see Suidas in v. σκοροδίοις.

[596] Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 1105.

[597] Hesychius and Zonaras in v. μάζα.

[598] Thuc. III. 49. comp. Scheffer Mil. Nav. IV. 1. This μάζα is the οἰνοῦττα, Athen. III. p. 114. F.

[599] Athen. X. p. 415. C.

[600] Polyb. V. 89.

making ten artabæ a year for each man, if we reckon 200 to a trireme; which amounts to almost one chœnix and a half a day, if large artabæ are meant, and if small, only three quarters of a chœnix.

To estimate the amount of the pay and provision-money required for a war, another condition is necessary besides the numerical force of the army and the rate of the pay, viz. the length of the campaign. As soon as the campaign was over, the payment of the troops ceased; even mercenaries did not constantly receive wages, but were paid for a portion only of the time [601]. In early times war was carried on with the Lacedæmonians for four or five months; but Philip made no difference between summer and winter [603]. Yet as early as in the Peloponnesian war, armies were paid in winter, as in Sicily and elsewhere; and Pericles used regularly to keep sixty ships eight months at sea, and to pay them for the whole time [603]: these alone must have cost 480 talents a year, if each man received a drachma a day. But how could Athens have raised pay and provision-money for more than 60,000 men in the Sicilian expedition, the cost being 3600 talents in a year, i. e. in the money of the present day, £870,000, which, according to the prices of commodities at that time, may be considered as equal to more than two millions sterling. We must not therefore wonder that, notwithstanding the high tributes and the oppression of the allies (though the independent confederate States in great measure paid their own troops), a scarcity of supplies quickly arose; nor need we be surprised that Pericles, who, in the

[601] For an instance of this see Thucyd. VIII. 45.

[602] Demosth. Philipp. III. p. 123.

[603] Plutarch. Pericl. 11.

beginning of the war, kept an equally large force on foot, although not throughout the whole year, was compelled to have recourse to the public treasure.

(23.) The expences of war were also considerably increased by the equipment of fleets, and the preparation of machines used in war and of instruments for sieges. Besides the ships which were built in time of peace, they were accustomed, as soon as any severe struggle was apprehended, to apply themselves with extraordinary zeal to the construction of vessels; yet, before the ships could be ready to sail, there remained always much to be done in order to complete their equipment; part of which was furnished by the State, and part by the Trierarch at his own cost. Besides the swift triremes, it was also necessary to provide many transports (ὅλκαδες), auxiliary vessels (ὑπηρετικὰ πλοῖα), and cavalry transports (ἱππαγωγὰ πλοῖα); which latter, although the Greeks had taken horses with them to the siege of Troy, and the Persians had employed many ships of this description in the war against Greece, were yet for the first time regularly introduced at Athens in the second year of the Peloponnesian war, and were afterwards frequently used [604]. On rare occasions only it happened that the Athenians had a fleet equipped and ready for battle, such as that appointed in Olymp. 87. 2., when it was decreed that the 100 best triremes should be selected, to which Trierarchs were immediately assigned, in order that Attica might be defended in the event of an attack from the sea; and at the same time a thousand

[604] Thuc. II. 56. IV. 42. VI. 43. and elsewhere, Demosth. Philipp. I. p. 46. 5. Plutarch. Pericl. 35. Concerning the Persians see Diod. XI. 3. Herod. VII. 97.

talents were ordered to be laid by for the same object [605]. The preparations for sieges were particularly expensive, as much carpenters' work and masonry and many handicraftsmen were required for these purposes: machines for attack and defence were used in early times, not only in the Peloponnesian war, but even at an earlier period, as, for example, by Miltiades, and by Pericles at the siege of Samos; although the art of besieging did not attain its greatest perfection among the Greeks until the time of Demetrius Poliorcetes. That considerable outlays were made for missile weapons is evident from several passages in ancient writers. With regard to Athens, it will be sufficient to mention the two decrees [606] by which honours were conferred on Demochares and Lycurgus; the former, for having procured arms, darts, and machines; the latter, for having brought arms and 50,000 darts into the Acropolis.

(24.) If all these several heads are added together, it will be at once evident how immense must have been the whole expences of a war after the time that Pericles had introduced the pay of the forces. Whereas in earlier times the building and equipment of the fleets were the only things that caused any expence to the State. The fine of fifty talents, to which Miltiades was condemned on account of the failure of his expedition against Paros, might therefore have been taken as equivalent to the whole expence, as Nepos [607] thinks it was, did we not know that this sum

[605] Thuc. II. 24. VIII. 15. Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 336. Andoc. de Pace p. 92. Suid. in v. ἄβυσσος. The money was laid by only once, and not annually, as some writers have erroneously supposed.

[606] At the end of the Lives of the Ten Orators, II. III.

[607] Miltiad. 7.

was a common fine, without any regard to a particular compensation. The siege of Samos in Olymp. 84. 4. appears, according to Diodorus, to have cost 200 talents; for Pericles required a contribution to this amount, as an indemnification for the expences which had been incurred[608]. The Olympian Jupiter must however have reckoned very leniently in this case; for a nine months' siege by land and sea, in which, according to the account of Thucydides, not less than 199 triremes were employed, or at any rate a large part of this number for a considerable time, must evidently have caused a greater expence; and the statement therefore of Isocrates and Nepos[609], that 1200 talents were expended upon it, appears to be by no means exaggerated. But the expences of the Peloponnesian war are the most extraordinary in the financial history of Athens. If we assume that the ships employed at the beginning of the war received only six months' pay, they must have cost 1500 talents; and in this number the forces employed at the siege of Potidæa are not included. This siege was extremely expensive, having been continued uninterruptedly during both summer and winter for two years; Thucydides reckons the expence at 2000[610], Isocrates at 2400 talents, a part of which Pericles took from the public treasure[611]. A separate war-tax of 200 talents

[608] Diod. XII. 28. cf. Thuc. I. 117.

[609] Thuc. I. 116, 117. Isocrat. de Antidosi p. 69. Nepos Timoth. 1.

[610] Thuc. II. 70. where the reading χιλιαι is undoubtedly false, Isocrat. de Antid. p. 70. Diodorus (XII. 46.) reckons the expences some months before the surrender at more than 1000 talents.

[611] Thuc. III. 17, II. 13. According to the latter passage 3700 talents were taken out of the treasury, which Diodorus

was levied for the siege of Mytilene, and twelve ships were dispatched for the purpose of collecting money from the allies[612]. No enterprize went so far beyond the resources of the Athenian State as the Sicilian expedition. The annual pay alone amounted, as we have already seen, to 3600 talents, nearly the double of the whole annual revenue of Athens, if we take it at the highest estimate; and at how great an amount must we reckon the other expences of this war? By these means both money and provisions soon almost wholly failed; nor were the subsidies furnished by the Egestæans at all considerable, viz. sixty talents given at the very commencement, as monthly pay for sixty ships, and thirty talents sent at a subsequent period[613]. There was little plunder taken, although 100 talents were once obtained from that source[614]: the remittances from Athens were by no means large, 20, 120, or 300 talents, and these, as it appears, even came, in part at least, from the public treasure[615], to which, both then and afterwards, they were compelled to have recourse, in order to support the expences of the war, for which purpose indeed it had been originally collected. Nothing but a fortunate issue could have put Athens in a condition to

(XII, 40.) less accurately calls 4000. Barthélemy reckons 3000 for the public works of Pericles, and 700 for the first part of the siege (Anach. tom. I. note VIII.). This assumption is however quite arbitrary; Potidæa and the works of building and art might have cost more than 5000 talents, and those 3700 have been only an advance from the public treasure, in addition to what was paid for out of the current revenues.

612 Thuc. III. 19.

613 Diod. XIII. 6.

614 Diod. ibid.

615 See Inscript. 144. according to my interpretation.

defray the immense sums required for pay; without which however it would have been impossible to adopt so vast a plan. If Pericles had not introduced the pay of the soldiers, Athens could not have carried on the Peloponnesian war for so long a time; nor again, could the youthful imagination of Alcibiades have conceived the lofty notion of obtaining a footing in Sicily, as a new centre from which they might subdue Carthage and Libya, Italy, and finally, the Peloponnese [616]; the people and the soldiers were moreover favourably inclined to this expedition, because they hoped to receive money immediately, and to make conquests, by which they would be enabled to receive their pay without intermission [617]. In the age of Demosthenes also much treasure, levied chiefly by property-taxes, was applied to the uses of war; but with much money little was effected. A fruitless expedition to Pylæ cost, together with the expences incurred by private individuals, above 200 talents [618]; Isocrates complains of the loss of more than 1000 talents, which had been given to foreigners [619]; Demosthenes of the squandering of more than 1500, which, as Æschines remarks, were not expended upon the soldiers, but upon the ostentatious splendour of

[616] Thuc. VI. 15, 90. Isocrat. Συμμαχ. 29. Plutarch. Alcib. 17. The idea was new; for although in the Knights of Aristophanes (vs. 174, 1300.) a plan is hinted at for attacking Carthage, it only owes its existence to a false reading. In both places Καλχηδὼν should evidently be read for Καρχηδὼν, as the Scholiast at vs. 1300 writes, and as the sense requires in vs. 174.

[617] Thuc. VI. 24.

[618] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 367. 21.

[619] Isocrat. Areopag. 4.

the generals [620], at the very time they lost the allied cities and their ships. The State had been impoverished by the Theorica, while individuals had enriched themselves; there was not in the military chest money enough for a single day's march [621]; and if any funds were collected for war, the mismanagement and maladministration would surpass all belief, did we not know that the same mischief has recurred in all times. Commanders or demagogues, who received pay for the troops, drew it for *empty places* [622], as was the expression; in the same manner that in modern times generals have received pay for what were termed *men of straw*, or soldiers that existed only on the roll. To ascertain the extent of these practices, commissioners were sent out to discover whether there were as many mercenaries, as the generals reported; these enquirers however frequently allowed themselves to be bribed [623]. The Trierarchs, as early even as in the time of the poet Aristophanes, were accused of embezzling the pay of part of the crew, and stopping the unoccupied apertures for the oars in their ships, in order that it might not be seen that there was a

[620] Demosth. Olynth. III. p. 36. 8. (and thence περὶ συντάξ. p. 174. 11.) Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 249.

[621] Demosth. in Aristocrat. p. 690.

[622] This is the meaning of μισθοφορεῖν ἐν τῷ ξενικῷ κεναῖς χώραις, Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 536. Others cheated the soldiers, as e. g. Memnon of Rhodes and Cleomenes. See Aristot. Œcon. II. 29, 39.

[623] These are the ἐξεταστάι, Æsch. in Timarch. p. 131. περὶ παραπρεσβ. p. 339. Lex. Seg. p. 252. The passage in the oration περὶ συντάξεως p. 167. 17. seems also to refer to the Exetastæ; those however mentioned in the decree communicated by Chishull Ant. As. p. 164. from Ainsworth, which probably belongs to Athens, are of a different description.

deficiency of rowers[624]. In the mean time the public money was squandered away by such generals as Chares and many resembling him, who were distinguished by every kind of profligacy. If in an age of simplicity and decorum, Themistocles was not ashamed to drive through the Ceramicus in the morning with a carriage full of courtesans[625], it is easy to understand how Alcibiades, who, notwithstanding his extraordinary talents, was a man of the most immoral and irreligious character, did not scruple (as at least his enemies said of him[626]) to carry women about with him in his campaigns, and to embezzle 200 talents; how Chabrias, according to Theopompus, was not able to remain in Athens on account of his debauched habits; and how, according to the same authority, Chares had with him in the field women even of the lowest description, and applied the public money to uses wholly at variance with its proper destination. But the Athenians could not censure such a course of habits, for they themselves lived in an equally depraved manner, the young men with female flute-players and courtesans, the old in gambling; while they consumed more money in public banquettings and distributions of food than for the real service of the State, and allowed themselves to be entertained in the market place at a triumphal festival for a battle won over the mercenaries of Philip with an expence of sixty talents, which Chares had received from Delphi[627]. Theopompus is decried as censorious for having painted from nature the dissolute manners of a corrupt age: for most people

[624] Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 1233.
[625] Heraclides ap. Athen. XII. p. 533, D.
[626] Lysias in Alcib. λειποταξ. I. p. 598.
[627] Theopompus ap. Athen. XII. p. 532, B sqq.

are inclined to view every thing on its fairest side; especially if they view it from a distance, when all the passions are silent, and the benevolent feeling which is implanted in the heart of man is not contradicted by immediate and personal experience: but honour is due to the Historian who knows how to distinguish the covering from the substance, and, like the judge of the infernal regions, drags the souls before his judgment-seat, naked and stripped of all pomp and pageantry.

Timotheus the son of Conon, deserves to be honourably mentioned as a warrior equal to his father, and among all the Athenian generals of being that one who knew how to carry his enterprizes into execution with the least outlay of money, and therefore without burdening the allies, and making himself and his country odious through extortion. I pass over his other services, which will be mentioned hereafter; but his skill in maintaining his soldiers ought not to be left unnoticed. Timotheus generally received little or nothing in the beginning of the campaign; though there arose the greatest scarcity in the army, he was still successful in the war, and paid his soldiers to the last obolus [628]. He subdued four and twenty States with less expence than the siege of Melos had occasioned in the Peloponnesian war [629]; the siege of Potidæa, which had cost such vast sums in the time of Pericles, he carried on with money which he had raised himself, together with the contributions of the Thracian cities [630]; according to Nepos he gained in the war against

[628] Isocrat. de Antidosi p. 72. ed. Orell.

[629] Isocrat. ibid. p. 70.

[630] Isocrat. ibid. p. 70.

Cotys 1200 talents of prize-money[631]. In the expedition against Olynthus having no silver money he issued a coinage of copper tokens, and induced the merchants to take it by promising them that they might use it in paying for whatever property either in land or plunder they might purchase, and he pledged himself to redeem whatever should remain over[632]. In the expedition round the Peloponnese to Corcyra, there was likewise great scarcity: for Timotheus had received only thirteen talents[633]. He accordingly compelled each of the Trierarchs to give pay to the sailors to the amount of seven minas, for which he pledged his own property[634]: afterwards being unable to furnish any more pay to the troops, he gave them the provision-money for three months in advance, in order that they might believe he was in the expectation of large sums which were only detained by the unfavourable state of the weather[635]; and in the mean time he sent for a fresh supply of money from Athens for his numerous fleet[636]. But he and Iphicrates also paid away some of the prize-money on this occasion[637]. Lastly, Timotheus kept thirty triremes and 8000 peltasts in pay (with which

[631] Nep. Timoth. I.

[632] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. II. 2. 28. Polyæn. III. 10. 1.

[633] Isocrat. ut sup. p. 68.

[634] Orat. in Timoth. (in Demosthenes) p. 1187, 1188.

[635] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. ut sup.

[636] Xenoph. Hell. V. 4. 66.

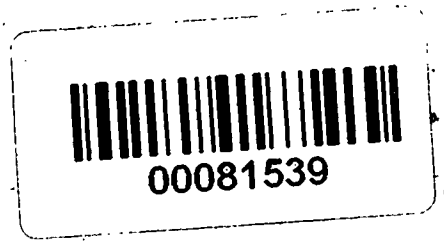
[637] Diod. XV. 47. cf. XVI. 57. Xenophon indeed (Hell. VI. 2. 23.) relates the accounts, which Diodorus ascribes to both, of Iphicrates alone, and undoubtedly with more correctness; but it can be safely asserted of Timotheus that he assisted himself at that time with plunder.

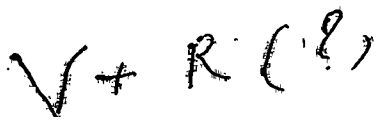
he besieged Samos for eleven months) sustaining them wholly from the enemy's country, whereas Pericles had not been able to take the same island without incurring a vast expence [638].

[638] Isocrat. ut sup. p. 69. Aristot. Œcon. ut sup. Polyæn. l. 10. 5, 9.

Note to p. 374. l. 12.

"—reckons at 105 feet." In the original it is printed "*auf 150 Füssen anschlägt.*" The words of Meibomius (De Fabrica Triremium, Gronov. Thes. Ant. Rom. vol. XII. p. 584 B.) are, "*Longitudinem triremis antiquæ facio circiter pedum* CV. *latitudinem pedum* XI. *sedilia cujusque ordinis* XXX. *ut caperet remiges* CLXXX."


00081539



Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 09 March, 2016